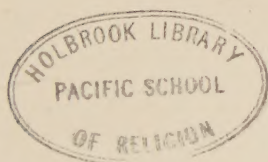


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of Hampole*



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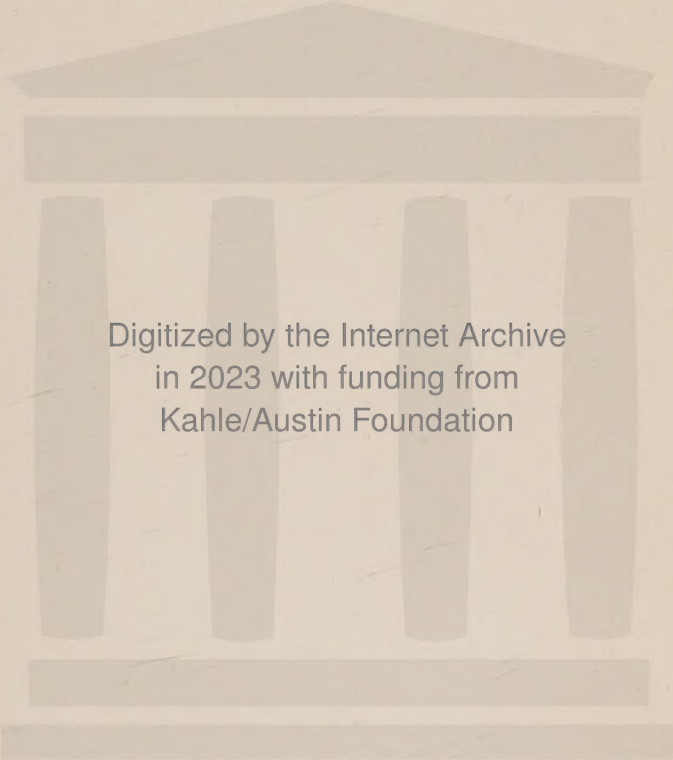
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In desponsu of p^{re}sent^{er} one ghesly comye Say p^{re} hime

O tortuose serpens qui mille per meandros fraudesq^{ue}
 flexuosus agitis quicquid corda. Distcede. xpc hic est.
 hic est xpc. liqueste. signu T. quod ipe nosti damnat
 tuam cateenam. T. Certe pellit omne crumen. fugi
 unt. M. cruce tenebre. tali dicata signu mens fluctuante
 uesit. Distcede + d. Ac uic a fcl.

Agaynot digne p^{re}sent^{er} or fimit^{er} d^{re} p^{re} fcl.

Paul. O. paul vaganti portenta somniorum:
 precul esto p^{re}uicaci prestigator hastu. Distcede + d

Sanctus Saluator

Maria

Iohanna

Gewell

Birgitta

Sanc Augustinus

Nullata Suputa seu Non tuncba

A fignit^{er} pambulante in die. d. negare pambulante in tenebris. Ab monsu et denomo maturo. Sanderit a late mo

Ad te autem. J. non appropriabit

Quod estare oliget^{er} lesns. xpcus. Dominu. Amen

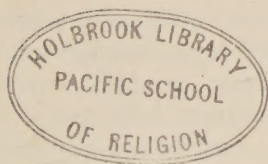
Monogram of Joan Sewell, sister of Sion abbey 1500—1532, and a student of the *Incendium Amoris*. (See p. 82, n. 3.)

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THE INCENDIUM AMORIS OF RICHARD ROLLE OF HAMPOLE

EDITED BY
MARGARET DEANESLY

*Research Student in History and Assistant Mistress at the Manchester
High School for Girls; late Arthur Hugh Clough Scholar,
Newnham College, Cambridge.*



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PREFACE.

THE English works of Richard Rolle, the fourteenth century hermit, poet and mystic, have already received much attention from students of Middle English Literature, both for the beauty of his lyrics and prose treatises, and from linguistic interest in the northern dialect in which they are written. Rolle, however, wrote as freely in Latin as in English, but his Latin treatises have been allowed to remain in manuscript : of these, the *Incendium Amoris* is perhaps the most important and representative. These treatises were of less general interest than the Middle English works ; they had no linguistic interest, and much less literary value, since the mediæval Latin in which they were written was a less good vehicle of expression than English for the peculiar beauty of Rolle's style. Their subject was also of much narrower interest, since they dealt almost solely with the contemplative life, while Rolle's exhortations in the vernacular were often addressed to the devout laity, and covered a much wider range of topics. The class of people who in Rolle's day would have been naturally interested in the Latin treatises was thus a small one : it was represented chiefly by the recluse or hermit, and the members of contemplative religious orders. In modern times scholars have approached mediæval literature so much from the linguistic point of view, that they have perhaps been unduly incurious as to the value of such writings as Rolle's Latin works as illustrations of mediæval ideals, practice and atmosphere.

Two additional reasons must have tended from the first to limit the already select public, and to account for the limited popularity of the prose treatises in the centuries immediately succeeding Rolle's death, and their non-publication in modern times. The first was the quite undeserved suspicion of heresy which clung to Rolle's

works. This suspicion was perhaps partly due to his denunciation of scholastic teaching, and advocacy of an original mode of life, bound by no religious vows. It was however much more the result of his equivocal popularity among the Lollards. The latter not merely admired and studied his works, but interpolated into the text of some of his books sundry flagrant insertions of their own, which the criticism of that age was not able to detect.

The second reason which limited the popularity of the Latin treatises was the fact that Rolle on principle belonged to no religious order, which would have been interested in preserving his works in the middle ages, and in publishing them later. Had Rolle been a Benedictine or a friar, his work would almost certainly have become known to his brethren in religion on the continent, as well as to those in England. As it was, the traces of his influence on the continent are very small indeed. Rolle's life, and the fate of his works, illustrate particularly well the position and limitations of the mystic as the free lance in religion: the man for whom, according to baron von Hügel's classical definition, the intuitive or personal element in religion far outweighs the historical and institutional elements. Rolle's disregard for the institutional support which membership of a religious order would have given him was fundamental to his own conception of the contemplative life, and his own progress in that life was no doubt conditioned by it. Yet it meant the limitation of his influence almost to the sphere of personal contact during his life-time, and to little more than the northern counties of England after his death. His reputation was never more than insular, and might also be called local. The Latin treatises thus largely missed their natural public before the Reformation, and though they were preserved afterwards in manuscript in English libraries, those who had access to them had no inclination to print them. One or two

treatises found a place in sixteenth and seventeenth century collections of religious works, but the bulk of Rolle's Latin writings remained unpublished.

The first systematic study of Rolle's life and works, including the Latin treatises, was made by Dr. C. Horstman, but unfortunately his *Richard Rolle of Hampole and his Followers*, published in 1896, remains unfinished. The first two volumes which he published give most careful transcripts of Rolle's Middle English works, often with versions from more than one manuscript. The second volume gives further a list of Rolle's Latin works, including some whose ascription to Rolle was only provisional. To this is added a life and criticism of Rolle valuable because based on a study of the Latin treatises in manuscript, as well as of the Middle English tracts and poems. The Latin treatises themselves Dr. Horstman intended to publish in other volumes of his work. Unfortunately he never carried out this plan.

The most recent study of Rolle's works as a whole has been made by Miss Hope Allen, of Radcliffe College, U.S.A. Struck by the dissimilarity of outlook between the stolid dogmatism of the *Prick of Conscience*, the longest work hitherto ascribed to Rolle, and the marked individuality and mysticism of his other works, Miss Allen examined the external and internal evidence for Rolle's authorship of the *Prick of Conscience*, and found that, beyond the tradition, the ascription of the work to him rested on the slenderest grounds. These conclusions she published in 1908. Since then she has been engaged in examining the English and continental manuscripts of Rolle's works, preparatory to publishing a critical estimate of Rolle's work, based on a careful collation of all the sources. She discovered in a manuscript containing Rolle's *Incendium Amoris* and other of his works (Emmanuel College, Cambridge, MS. 35), the marginal notes of John Newton, who was treasurer at

York 1393—1414. In one of these notes he stated that he had emended the *Incendium Amoris*, as originally written in the manuscript, from the book which Saint Richard of Hampole wrote with his own hand. This suggested that Emmanuel MS. 35 was therefore of primary importance for the study of the text of the *Incendium Amoris*, as to which Miss Allen saw that the manuscripts shewed great confusion. Her note on the subject of Emmanuel MS. 35 was published by the *Athenæum*, 23 Aug., 1913.

My own study of the *Incendium Amoris* was suggested by Miss Allen, and was based on the list of the manuscripts of the *Incendium Amoris*, very kindly supplied to me by her. It has been confined to working out the text, and to the endeavour to trace the history of the text from the ownership of the various manuscripts. I found that the manuscripts, exclusive of those which contained merely fragments, conformed to two types, a longer and a shorter, that the longer type must have been Rolle's original text, and that the shorter was an abridgment. Emmanuel MS. 35 was an abridged text, which had been restored to its original form by John Newton, a book-collector and very careful scribe. Newton's emendations proved the short text to have been written some time before his own death in 1414, and render Emmanuel MS. 35 authoritative for the original form of the text. As the emended manuscript agrees substantially with the better long text manuscripts, it also establishes their validity.

My interest in the ownership of manuscripts of the *Incendium Amoris* led me in one case rather far afield, with negative results so far as the history of the text was concerned. This was in the case of the connexion of Sion abbey with two manuscripts of the *Incendium Amoris*: one, the above-mentioned Emmanuel MS. 35, the manuscript of John Newton, the other, British Museum Additional MS. 24,661. I noticed in both these

manuscripts similar markings and monograms, and these proved to have been made by Joan Sewell, a nun of Sion abbey in the early sixteenth century. The inference seemed to be that both the manuscripts which she thus marked formed at that date part of the library of Sion; especially as the markings referred to differences in the text of the *Incendium Amoris*, and could only have been made by a concurrent study of the two forms of the text, such as the two manuscripts in question afforded. Since one of the manuscripts thus marked by Joan Sewell, the nun of Sion, was that previously annotated by John Newton, it struck me as a coincidence that the first abbess of Sion, nominated by Henry V the very year after Newton's death, should have been named Matilda Newton. I wondered if this abbess were a relation of John Newton's, and if his annotated manuscript had passed to her on his death. It would thus have become part of the library of Sion, and accessible later to Joan Sewell, whose monograms and markings it now contains in addition to John Newton's own notes. My effort to ascertain the identity of Matilda Newton, made without the light thrown on the subject by the late Dr. J. H. Wylie's recently published first volume of the *Reign of Henry V*, led to the discovery of conflicting evidence concerning the foundation of Sion abbey. This was especially the case with that given by the foundation charter and *Martiloge* of Sion concerning the identity of Matilda Newton. I found eventually that no relationship could be proved between John and Matilda Newton, that John Newton's manuscript had reached Sion abbey by quite another channel, and that the subject of the foundation of Sion abbey became thus of only quite indirect interest for the history of Newton's manuscript, and that of the text of the *Incendium Amoris*. I have nevertheless allowed it to form the final section of the introduction, in the hope that it may be of independent interest for the history of religious foundations in

England, in the century immediately preceding their dissolution.

I wish to acknowledge my debt in the preparation of this text of the *Incendium Amoris* to the incessant kindness and patient criticism of Professor T. F. Tout and Mr. G. G. Coulton, without whose help the work would, for the writer, have been scarcely possible. I should like also to express my thanks to Miss Alice Gardner and Miss Maud Sellers for much help and advice; to Miss Hope Allen, who has not only turned my attention to the subject, but has given me the benefit of her wide knowledge of Rolle throughout; to Miss R. M. Clay, for information concerning the anchorets of Westminster; to the present Lady Abbess and Community of Syon Abbey, for great kindness in giving me all possible information, and especially for allowing me to reproduce as frontispiece a monogram of Joan Sewell, similar to those drawn in the two manuscripts of the *Incendium Amoris*; and to Mr. H. M. McKechnie, the secretary of the Manchester University Press, for great patience and help in preparing the book for the press. I should like also to thank all those who have helped me to obtain access to manuscripts, especially the Bishop of Lincoln, Mr. P. Worsley Wood of Emmanuel College, Cambridge; Dr. T. A. Walker of Peterhouse; and Mr. A. Rogers, of the University Library, Cambridge. In conclusion, I wish to acknowledge the kindness of the master and fellows of Emmanuel College in allowing me to use Emmanuel MS. 35 as the basis of this edition, and of the editor and publishers of the *English Historical Review* for allowing me to reprint the substance of a note on *The Incendium Amoris of Richard Rolle and S. Bonaventura*, published in vol. xxix, pp. 99-101.

M. DEANESLY.

THE UNIVERSITY,
MANCHESTER,
March, 1915.

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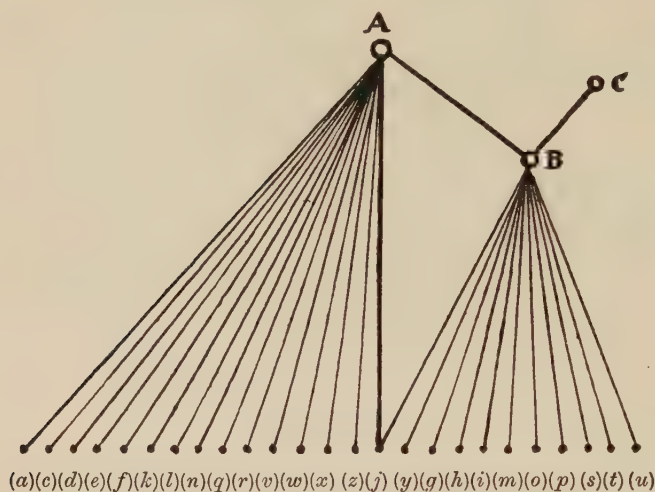
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DIAGRAM OF THE ENGLISH MANUSCRIPTS OF THE INCENDIUM AMORIS.



←.....Long texts..... ×Short texts.....→

- 1435 Richard Misyn
translated the long
text into Middle English

- A. Rolle's original manuscript of the *Incendium Amoris*.
- B. Abridged text of the *Incendium Amoris* (probably containing also another selection of passages from the *Incendium Amoris* and the *Postillae super Canticum Canticorum*).
- C. Rolle's *Postillae super Canticum Canticorum*.
- (j) Newton's manuscript, containing both the original text and the abridged text.

DIAGRAM OF THE ENGLISH MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *INCENDIUM AMORIS*.

Rolle's original manuscript of the *Incendium Amoris* has not been preserved. There are in England twenty-six manuscripts of the *Incendium Amoris*, of which fourteen contain the text in its original form, and are called in the diagram, and throughout this edition, long text manuscripts. The best of these long text manuscripts are (*f*), (*k*), (*l*), (*w*); but none are of certain pedigree.

An early scribe, whose identity is unknown, abridged the *Incendium Amoris*; eleven manuscripts contain his abridgment, and are called in this edition short text manuscripts.

John Newton, treasurer at York 1393—1414, owned an abridged manuscript, (*j*), of the *Incendium Amoris*. He emended it, as he states in a marginal note, from the "book which Saint Richard of Hampole wrote with his own hand." (*j*) thus contains both the long and short forms of the text, of which the long is a first-hand copy of Rolle's manuscript by a careful scribe. It has therefore been followed in this edition: but it does not differ substantially from the other long text manuscripts.

The short text manuscripts shew considerable confusion with Rolle's *Postillae super Canticum Canticorum*. This is shewn in the diagram, and is due to the fact that an early scribe (probably the author of the short text of the *Incendium Amoris*) produced a selection of passages from both the *Postillae super Canticum Canticorum* and the *Incendium Amoris*, which has been widely copied.

Manuscripts containing the Incendium Amoris.

BRITISH MUSEUM.

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (a) Addit. MS. 24,661, | ff. 14-61. Long. |
| (b) Harl. MS. 5235, | ff. 13-14b (Chapter 15 only). |
| (c) Sloan. MS. 2275, | ff. 73-108b. Long. |
| (d) Regius MS. 5, C, 3, | ff. 305-317 and ff. 329-340b. Long. |
| (e) Harl. MS. 275, | ff. 12v-46 Long. |
| Harl. MS. 106, | ff. 182-185b (fragments only). |
| Arundel MS. 507, | ff. 49v-50 (fragment only). |
| Vesp. MS. E. 1, | ff. 78-100 (<i>Canticles</i> only). |

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- | | |
|--------------------|------------------|
| (f) MS. Dd. 5, 6, | ff. 1-84. Long. |
| (g) MS. Mm. 5, 37, | ff. 3-57. Short. |

CAMBRIDGE COLLEGES.

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (h) Caius MS. 332, | ff. 128-143b Short. |
| (i) S. John's MS. B. 1, | ff. 2-40 Short. |
| (j) Emmanuel MS. 35, | ff. 25-98, omitting ff. 28b-31b. |
| (k) Caius MS. 140, | (Long and Short). |
| | ff. 17-49. Long. |

OXFORD. BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| (l) Bodl. MS. 861, | ff. 102b-122b. Long. |
| (m) Bodl. MS. 16, | ff. 105-153. Short. |
| (n) Bodl. MS. 66, | ff. 1-79b. Long. |
| (o) Laud misc. MS. 202, | ff. 42-73. Short. |
| (p) Laud misc. MS. 528, | ff. 78-97b Short. |
| (q) Rawlinson MS. A. 389, | ff. 32-77. Long. |
| Rawlinson MS. C. 397 | f. 78 (fragment only). |

OXFORD COLLEGES

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (r) Corpus Christi MS. 193, | ff. 180b-206. Long. |
| (s) Balliol MS. 224, | ff. 39-56b. Short. |
| (t) S. John's MS. 127, | ff. 25-56b. Short. |
| Magdalen MS. 115, | (O.T. <i>Canticles</i> only). |

MSS. IN OTHER LIBRARIES.

- | | |
|--|-------------------|
| (u) Lincoln Cathedral MS. C. 4, 6, | Short. |
| (v) Lincoln Cathedral MS. B. 4, 1, | Long. |
| (w) Durham Cathedral B. IV. 35, | ff. 33-91b. Long. |
| (x) Hereford Cathedral MS. O. VIII. 1, | Long. |
| (y) John Rylands Library, Manchester, | |
| MS. 18, 932, | Short |
| (z) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. | |
| Latin 15,700, | ff. 40b-70. Long. |

NOTE.—Of the 26 Incendium MSS. 15 are long: (a) (c) (d) (e) (r) (j) (k) (l) (n) (q) (v) (w) (x) (z): and of these (a) (v) (z) are incomplete texts; while 11 are short: (g) (h) (i) (m) (o) (p) (s) (t) (u) (y) and complete as such.

THE *INCENDIUM AMORIS* IN EARLY PRINTED EDITIONS OF ROLLE'S LATIN WORKS, AND IN TRANSLATIONS.

- (a) No printed edition of Rolle's Latin works contains his *Incendium Amoris*, though the most important print under the title of *Incendium Amoris*, chapter 15, of that work, beginning "Cum infeliciter florerem." (See p. 187.)

Cologne, 1536. *Domini Richardi Pampolitani Anglosaxonis Eremitae . . . in psalterium Davidicum atque alia quaedam sacre scripturae monumenta . . . pia Enarratio.*

fol. cxlii. *Nominis Iesu encomion celeberrimum*, authore D. Richardo Pampolitano Eremita. Oleum effusum in saecula saeculorum. (Comment on the *Canticles*, section 3.)

fol. cxliii b. *D. Richardi Pampolitani Eremitae de incendio amoris tractatulus*. Cum infeliciter florerem aeternaliter gaudebunt.

fol. cxliiii b. *D. Richardi Pampolitani Eremitae in haec verba Salomonis, Adolescentulae dilexerunt te nimis*. (Comment on the *Canticles*, section 4.)

De la Bigne, *Magna Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, Cologne, 1622, Tom. xv, pp. 834-8, reprinted these tracts, with the headings, exactly as in the edition of Cologne, 1536. (They were also reprinted in the Lyons, 1677, edition. Tom. xxvi.)

p. 834. *Nominis Iesu encomion*.

p. 835. *De Incendio Amoris tractatulus*.

p. 836. *Adolescentulae*.

Other less full editions of Rolle's Latin works, containing however chapter 15 of the *Incendium Amoris*, are those of Antwerp, 1533, and J. Fabri, Cologne, 1536.

- (b) *The Fire of Love*, Early English Text Society, Original Series 106. Richard Misyn's translation of the *Incendium Amoris*, made in 1435, edited by the Rev. Ralph Harvey, 1896.

The Fire of Love and the Mending of Life. Richard Misyn's translation edited and done into modern English by Frances M. M. Comper, with an introduction by Evelyn Underhill. Methuen, 1914.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Monogram of Joan Sewell, sister of Sion Abbey, 1500-1532

Frontispiece

Diagram of the English Manuscripts of the Incen-
dium Amoris - - - -

page xviii

INTRODUCTION.

(1) DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS.

(For the general relationship of the manuscripts,
see diagram, p. xviii.)

BRITISH MUSEUM.

A.—*Full Texts.* Addit. MS. 24, 661=(a).

Quarto, vellum 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 7in. Sec. XV early. The manuscript belonged to Arch. Tenison's Library,¹ then to the Parish Library of S. Martin's, Castle Street, Westminster; and was sold by S. Leigh Sotheby and John Wilkinson, July 1, 1861. The description of the MS., numbered 41 in the sale catalogue, is sufficient to prove the identity. The MS. is clearly written, probably by an English scribe, since the exclamation "Lady Helpe" occurs after the title of the third treatise.

- f. 2. Tractatus ricardi Hampole de emendacione uite et diuiditur in duodecim capitula. Ne tardes conuerti ad dominum
- f. 14. Explicit tractatus Ricardi Hampole de emendacione uite. 12 capitula. Sequitur de eodem Incendium amoris et de excellencia amoris dei seu amatore dei siue de uita contemplatiua. Incipit Prologus.
- f. 14b. Admirabar amplius quam enuncio . . . (an incomplete and independent version of the long text follows. Chapters 12 and 15 are present, but towards the end of the treatise many passages are omitted. These, however, have no relation to the omitted passages in the short text, or to the omissions in any MS. of the *Incendium*.)
- f. 48b. Dulciorem uoluptatem non cognosco. (=cap. 42 of *Incendium*, to . . . perficiendo quod preparasti, p. 278. Then more passages from the earlier part of the *Incendium* follow, till f. 58b.)
- f. 58b. Queri solent a quibusdam

1. See Miss Allen's forthcoming *Descriptive Catalogue of the Works of Richard Rolle of Hampole*.

- f. 59b. . . . sed moritur in gaudio qui uiuit in amore. Amen.
 f. 66. Quomodo Ricardus Hampole peruenit ad incendium amoris. Cum infeliciter florerem¹ (=cap. 15 of *Incendium*.)
 f. 61. . . . ad detrahendum incitemini. Explicit Incendium amoris.

Sermo beati Bernardi, etc. (On f. 18b, in the margin, against the first of the passages which the short texts omit [Ideo hoc audeo annunciare, cap. 5, p. 158], a line is drawn, and the monogram J. G. S. occurs in the margin. The monogram is a combined one, standing for Joanna Sewell and James Greenhalgh [see Introd., p. 82], and is the work of Joanna Sewell, a Brigittine sister of Sion Abbey, Isleworth. This MS. does not answer to the description of any of the Hampole MSS. described in the catalogue of the brothers' Library at Sion; but it may possibly have belonged to the sisters' Library. Other evidence makes it more likely, however, that, like the MS. of Hilton's *Scala Perfectionis*, it was given to Sr. Joan by Fr. James Greenhalgh, and was not used by her simply as one of the volumes in the library. It is interesting to find that Sr. Joanna had also noted the difference between the long and short texts of the *Incendium*.)

Harl. MS. 5235=(b).

Vellum, 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 6in.. Sec. XIV late, or sec. XV early.
 Clear, fairly regular hand.

- f. 1. (Without title). Ne tardes conuerti ad dominum.
 (=Rolle's *Emendacio uite*, *Regula uiuendi* or *Emendacio peccatoris*.)
 f. 11b. . . . graciaram accio in secula seculorum. Explicit.
 Ergo sit nomen domini benedictum. secundum Ricardum Heremitam de Hampole.
 Oleum effusum nomen tuum . . . Nomen Ihesu uenit in mundum . . . (=part of Rolle's *Comment on the Canticles*, see pp. 24, 60.)
 f. 13b. . . . ergo sit nomen Ihesu benedictum in secula seculorum. Amen.

Explicit tractatus eiusdem dicitur oleum effusum nomen tuum.

1. Printed in the Cologne, 1536, edition of Rolle's Latin works. f. cxliv. See p. xxi.

Cum infelicitur florerem (= cap. 15 of *Incendium*) . . .
ex magno amoris incendio . . .

- f. 14b. . . . eternaliter gaudebunt. Explicit quomodo perueni
ad incendium amoris.

Adolescentule dilexerunt te nimis (= part of Rolle's
Comment on the Canticles, see p. 60.)

- f. 16b. . . . Igitur O bone Ihesu propicius esto nobis miseris,
quia adolescentule d.t.n. Explicit quoddam notabile de
spirituali edificacione componitur de Ricardo heremita de
Hampole. qui obiit anno domini M^oCCC^oXLIX^o. (The
next treatise is in two columns, in a more regular, upright
hand : but both are probably late fourteenth century.)

Sloan MS. 2275=(c).

Vellum, 11 in. by 9 in. Sec. XV early. Writing fairly
clear, in two columns. Chapters marked and num-
bered. No trace of ownership of MS.

- f. 1. Amor utique audacem (= Rolle's *Melum contemplati-
uorum*, followed by other tracts not by Rolle).
f. 73. Incipit tractatus de Incendio amoris secundum Ricardum
de Hampul. Admirabar amplius quam enuncio (= long
text of *Incendium*; the chapters numbered 1-42, but
without headings.)
f. 108b. . . . in secula seculorum. Amen. Explicit incendium
amoris Sancti Ricardi heremite de Hampole.

Regius MS. 5, c, 3=(d).

Folio, vellum, 13½ in. by 9 in. Sec. XV early. Writing
irregular and fairly clear. Chapters not numbered,
but marked with capitals. Chapter 12 has the passage
about feruor, canor, dulcor, outlined in brackets, and
marked.

- f. 305. Ricardus de Hampoole. libellus de incendio amoris (in
later hand). Admirabar amplius quam enuncio . . . (long
text of *Incendium* follows : the text is complete, but the
book is misbound, so that from ff. 305—316b [middle of
chapter 24], the text is in right order : then ff. 329—340b
should follow, then f. 317.)
f. 317. (misbound). . . . in secula seculorum. Explicit Incen-
dium amoris sancti Ricardi heremite de Hampole.
f. 340. Dulciorem uoluptatem (= chapter 42 of *Incendium*)

- f. 340b. consumunt in igne amoris. Then : Quid nisi, iuxta prophetam, uitula Ephraim sum docta diligere trituram? (*Hosea*, 10, 11.) Denique in Euangelio, qui hoc solum quod facere debet, facit, seruus inutilis reputatur. (*Luke*, 17, 10.) Mandata forsan utcunque adimpleo; sed anima mea sicut terra sine aqua in illis. Ut igitur holocaustum meum pingue fiat. Osculetur me, quaeso, osculo oris sui. (= S. Bernard : *Sermones in Cantica*. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, clxxxiii, vol. ii, 815 : Sermo ix.)

S. Bernard's work is copied nearly to the end of Sermo xxxii—"cum ipso pariter pascere pascuis et cubare umbris," (*Ibid*, p. 951) where a break occurs in the MS.

Harl. MS. 275=(e).

Paper, 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Sec. XIV late. Two folios of parchment at end to protect the MS. Writing not regular, but clear. No coloured initials; or trace of ownership.

- f. 1. Hic incipiunt duodecim capitula ex compositione Ricardi heremite de Hampole. Ne tardes conuerti ad dominum. (= Rolle's *Emendacio uite*)
- f. 12. Explicit regula uiuendi, que dicitur duodecim capitula, secundum Ricardum heremitam de hampole.
- f. 12b. (without heading.) Admirabar amplius quam enuncio (=long text of *Incendium*. The text is very good, with few slips, and follows (f) very closely. Chapters numbered, but without headings. Although the MS. is early, there is no evidence that it was the "book in Rolle's own hand," and the scribe's remark, f. 12, as to the title of the *Regula uiuendi* is against it.)
- f. 46. . . . in aula celesti summo imperatori in secula seculorum. Amen. Explicit incendium amoris secundum Ricardum heremitam. (Then follow the *Meditations* of S. Bernard, *Nouem Lecciones de Seruicio Mortuorum Ricardi de Hampole*, and other tracts not by Rolle.)

B.—Partial Texts.

Harl. MS. 106. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in., folio, parchment. Sec. XV. Irregular but clear hand, mostly in two columns. Various theological tracts, including a few passages from the *Incendium*.

- f. 182. Ricardus de hampol in libro de incendio amoris. (Two columns.)

- f. 182b. Potentes huius seculi (Occasional capitals with red : merely selection of passages from *Incendium*.)
- f. 183. Si temporalis honor
- f. 183b. Multos uero traxit ad ocium et ocium ad negligenciam . . .
Quoniam eciam eleimosinam quos faciunt uel aliud opus
in conspectu hominum
- f. 184. Querere solent quidam quomodo posset
- f. 184b. Falluntur multi miseri qui se dominum amare fingunt.
- f. 185b. Porro plerique in formam femineam que uitanda sunt
castis. (No marking or explicit.)
- f. 186. Sunt qui estimant, (This and the following passages are
not Rolle.)

Arundel MS. 507. Paper, with occasional vellum folios, 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. by 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Sec. XV. "Ex dono Henr. Howard Norfolciensis." In different hands, mostly late and irregular. The MS. is probably Northern, since the M.E. tracts (e.g. ff. 48, 49) are in the Northern dialect, and f. 50 has a "Tractatus domini Iohannis de Caterigis monachi Ebor."

- f. 18. Meditacio fratris Bone auenture: Ecce, descripsi eam tripliciter (=the true beginning of Bonauentura's *De Triplici Via*, with which Rolle's *Incendium* was confused, see pp. 59, 54).
- f. 13. Sermo sancti Augustini Speculum theologie sanctum a magistro Iohanni Metensi (then other short tracts, in Latin and M.E.)
- f. 49b. Cum infelicer florere (=part of chapter 15 of *Incendium*, till in celesti regno gloriosam accipit consummacionem).
- f. 50. Tractatus domini Iohannis de Caterigis monachi Ebor., etc.

MS. Vesp. E. 1. Octavo. Sec. XV. Well and clearly written, with beautiful capitals.

- f. 2b. In hoc uolumine continentur xii tractatus. (Inter alia : Liber Bone uenture, scilicet, stimulus amoris. Tractatus de Bonauentura uocatur speculum peccatoris [=f. 69, Ecce descripsi eam tripliciter : the *De Triplici Via*.] Tractatus ricardi heremite super primum uersiculum canticorum, etc. For Rolle's *Comment on the Canticles*, see p. 60.)
- f. 78. Hic incipit tractatus secundum Ricardum heremitam super primum uersiculum canticorum. Suspirantis anime deli-

ciis eternorum : uox in orbe terrarum clare intonat :
Osculetur me, inquit, *osculo oris sui*. Dilecta utique a dilecto petit osculum

- f. 85. . . . quanto a se omnem terrenam carnalemque cupidinem prorsus depellat, et audeat dicere : *Osculetur me osculo oris sui*, et merito illud a se queri.

Quia meliora sunt ubera tua uino : fragrantia unguentis optimis. Fidelis et delicate depasta supernis deliciis anima cum petisset osculum Cum laudasset sponsa

- f. 91. . . . quoniam tocius finire cupit, ad Christum suspirando clamans. *Osculetur me osculo oris sui*, quia meliora sunt ubera tua uino, fragrantia unguentis optimis.

Hic incipit tractatus super secundum uersiculum canticorum secundum Ricardum heremitam. Expulsus a paradiso pro transgressione, in pomo uetito primus pascens

- f. 91b. *Oleum effusum nomen tuum*. O uirgo singularis, O mater ineffabilis, istud per te effusum est oleum quod in toto orbe terrarum sanat genus humanum (= a transition passage between Rolle's *Comments* on verses 1 and 2 of the *Canticum Canticorum*.)

- f. 93. . . . grandescit oleum infusum in cor electum, dulcescit nomen retentum, impinguat diligentem, depascit retinentem, ergo oleum effusum nomen tuum. *Oleum effusum nomen tuum : ideo adolescentule dilexerunt te nimis*. Nomen Ihesu uenit in mundum. [(j), f. 2, and (g), f. 1, both begin here.]

- f. 95b. . . . non recedit a me : ergo benedictum sit nomen Ihesu in secula seculorum. (= explicit of the third section.¹ The scribe then interpolates,) Unde quidem uerus amator Ihesu dulciter dixit. The hymn following is marked in the margin : Nota oracionem de nomine Ihesu ualde deuotam.

Dulcis ihesu memoria
 dans uera cordi gaudia
 sed super mel et omnia
 eius dulcis presencia.

- f. 96b. The hymn ends : cum ipso frui sedibus. A few lines of prose are added before the heading

- f. 97. *Ideo adolescentule dilexerunt te nimis* (= Rolle's *Comment* on the *Canticles* again, till) :

- f. 99b. . . . igitur O bone Ihesu propicius esto nobis miseris,

1. See p. 60.

quia adolescentule dilexerunt te nimis (ends imperfectly, without explicit).

f. 100. Speculum humane saluacionis

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

MS. Dd. 5, 64=(f).

Octavo, on paper, 7½in. by 4¾in. Sec. XV early. In different handwritings, ff. 1-16 being in the same or similar hand with ff. 101-142. The property, in the seventeenth century, of Alexander Harrison, of York.

ff. 1-16. De emendacione uite.

Expositio oracionis dominice secundum R. Hampole. (The end missing.)

f. 1. (As numbered in MS. : really f. 17.) Incipit liber primus de incendio amoris secundum beatum Ricardum heremitam de Hampule. Prologus. Admirabar amplius quam enuncio, (Then follows long text of *Incendium*, in clear and careful early fifteenth century or late fourteenth century hand. The scribe has prefaced each chapter by a chapter-heading, as printed in brackets in this edition, and as translated almost verbatim in Richard Misyn's version. Only two other long text, and no short text, MSS. give the chapter-headings, both in the form of a "tabula" at the end, and not singly, preceding the chapters; see (n) and (j). The scribe of (f) has divided the *Incendium* into two books, and numbered the chapters: Liber primus, 1-30; Liber secundus, 1-12; and written on f. 26, against the text "Ab inicio namque alteracionis uite et mentis," "Nota gradus quibus Ricardus peruenit ad incendium amoris.")

f. 84. . . . summo imperatori in secula seculorum. Amen.

Explicit liber de incendio amoris. Hic incipiunt uerba difficilia per diuersos doctores exposita que continentur in libro qui uocatur melum Ricardi heremite. (ff. 84-84b contains 41 words from Abrogare-Defecare, the end of the list being missing. Among those of interest are Almi-phona, scilicet, uox sacrata; Arra, dicitur a re pro qua datur arra (!), Camena, quasi canens amena, Cauma, scilicet incendium.)

f. 85. (Or as misnumbered in MS., f. 101,) Incipit forma uiuendi scripta a beato Ricardo heremita ad margaritam anachoritam suam dilectam discipulam. In ilk a synful man or woman

- f. 122b. . . . be with ye and kepe ye. Amen.
 Explicit forma uiuendi.
 Ego dormio et cor meum uigilat. þai þat liste lufe,
 herken and here of lufe
- f. 129. . . . withouten endyng. Amen.
 Explicit tractatus Ricardi heremite de H.
 scriptus cuidam moniali de Yedyngham.
 þe commawndment of god es. þat we lufe oure lorde
- f. 134. . . . þai have lufed. Amen. Explicit tractatus Ricardi
 hampole scriptus cuidam sorori de hampole. Hic incipit
 cantus compassionis christi et consolacionis eterne.
 Unkynde men. gif kepe til me. (Then follow one or
 two M.E. poems.)
- f. 142. Expliciunt cantica diuini amoris secundum Ricardum
 hampole. Item secundum eundem Ricardum. (Other
 poems follow, the end of the MS. being imperfect.)

MS. Mm. 5, 37=(g).

Octavo, on vellum, 9½ in. by 6 in., with ff. 134, 23 lines on
 page. Sec. XV early. Upright, clear and careful
 writing, with small fine sketches of faces, rabbits,
 dragons, stags, etc., in the initials and margins, and
 catchwords and signatures at every eighth leaf.

- f. 1. Thomas nuper Herefordensis episcopus, Willelmus Booth¹
 Ebor. archiepiscopus, Robertus Neule² Dunelmensis
 episcopus, Willelmus Percy³ Karliolensis episcopus ac
 Iohannis Philopolensis⁴ episcopus, Uniuersis et singulis
 christi fidelibus, tociens quociens super hunc librum
 aliquod capitulum deuote perlegerint, ad instanciam et
 rogatum Fratris christoferi Braystanes, monachi monas-
 terii beate marie Ebor., xl dies indulgencie pie misericor-
 diter et clementer, singillatim et diuisim, concesserunt
 perpetuis temporibus duraturas.

Item Suffraganeus Londoniarum concessit xl dies.

Item Suffraganeus⁴ Ebor., etc., ut supra.

- f. 1b. (In different hand).

Memorandum ergo quidam uir caritate plenus, monachus
 domus cartusie belle uallis, quondam monachus monas-
 terii beate marie extra muros Ebor., ac eciam uiri deo

1. Arch. York, 1452-1464. 2. Durham, 1437-57. 3. Carlisle, 1452-62.

4. John, bishop of Philippopolis, a bishop in partibus, appointed by
 provision 25 July 1441, acting as suffragan of York 1446-1458.

deuoti Thome Spofforth herefordensis Episcopi capellanus, donauit hunc librum domui Cartusie predicte, ut in memoriam sine obliuione tanti beneficii indesinenter haberetur. Ideo uniuersis ac singulis hanc sedulam inspecturis, humiliter ac deuote supplicamus, quatinus ex intimo caritatis affectu sedulas preces ad dominum effundere, non desinere, dignemini graciose pro christophero Brestons monacho predicto, suo nomine tamen non prelibato, qui eciam ut habeamus saporem orandi et nostri operis fructum, omnibus pro se deprecantibus xl dierum indulgencias elaborauit cum effecta a suffraganeo Eboracense. Nos ergo attendentes illud apostoli ubi dicit: "Orate pro inuicem ut saluemini, Et quia multorum manibus alleuiatur opus," Et memorantes beneficiorum eius, scilicet spiritualis et temporalis, Suppliciter deum deprecemur, ut degens in hac uita semper placens deo, post hanc uitam miseram confestim de rore celi habeat benedictionem. Amen. (For this Braystones Indulgence, see Appendix, pp. 52, 53.)

ff. 2, 2b. blank. (MS. not foliated.)

f. 3. Admirabar amplius quam enuncio. (The short text of the *Incendium* follows. The initial "Admirabar" is combined with a shield [argent, a cross gules charged with an escutcheon, or, possibly, with bordure, and cinquefoil in centre]. The chapters are not numbered, but marked with beautiful initials. Writing very clear, with few contractions. The scribe was evidently intelligent; he frequently emended the grammar where the other short texts do not differ, and where, from the variation in the MSS., the original text must have been obscure; his variant is generally more grammatically correct than that of the others. He copied the short text of the *Incendium*, and the same selections from the *Canticles*, as the scribe of (f), in exactly the same order, and in neither of their MSS. is there any heading or break between the end of the *Canticles* passages, f. 86b, and the "Ne tardes conuerti ad dominum," i.e., the *Emendacio uite*.)

f. 57. . . . saluus ero. (In different hand. Explicit *Incendium Amoris*.)

Oleum effusum nomen tuum. (Then, as in (j), see p. 12.)

Adolescentule

Curremus unguentorum tuorum.

- f. 86. Omnis accio laudabilis—(=*Epistola Anselmi*) . . . uoluntati dei.
- f. 86b. Si quis sancte (=*Incendium*, cap. 12) cum infeliciter florerem (=*Incendium*, cap. 15, not marked). Ex magno amoris incendio . . . gaudebunt.
Ne tardes conuerti ad dominum . . .
- f. 121. . . . graciaram accio in secula seculorum. Amen.
Explicit libellus Ricardi heremite de emendacione peccatoris, qui obiit anno domini M^oCCC^oXLIX^o apud hampole. (Three short tracts not by Rolle follow.)

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Caius MS. 332=(*h*).

Dr. James's *Catalogue*. "Vellum, 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. by 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in., ff. 168+2, double columns of 51, etc., lines and single of 38. Cent. XV in several hands. On the cover: Ex dono Magistri Henrici Osberne, quondam socii huius Collegii, and a list of contents."

In Dr. Venn's *Bibliography of Gonville and Caius College*, p. 4, Henry Osborne is stated to have been made acolyte at Ely, April 7, 1397, subdeacon June 16, 1397. There is a reference to him dated 1408, on the first page of another manuscript (Caius MS. 82,—the *Polychronicon*), and it is thus probable that this dates from at least that period. The only work of Rolle's in the book is described in the list of contents on the inside of the cover as *Tractatus qui dicitur Incendium Amoris*. The words in the same place, "Matthius Trofan fecit," refer probably to the drawing now partly covered by the book-plate of Caius College.

- f. 128. Admirabar amplius quam enuncio . . . (The short text of the *Incendium* follows. Chapters marked with capitals, but not numbered. Writing in two columns, fairly clear.)
- f. 143b. . . . saluus ero. Explicit tractatus qui dicitur Incendium Amoris

St. John's MS. B. 1=(*i*).

Small folio, vellum, 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ in., ff. 4+170+8, beauti-

fully illuminated, in old wooden binding. Sec. XV. On f. 178*b* are two shields, (1) argent, a fess chequy vert and of the field, (2) argent, a lion rampant gules, crossed per bend by a ragged staff, or; and a hand later than that of the scribe of the text has written : *Hec sunt arma domini Roberti Stewarde¹ prioris nostri eliensis.* The book-plate states that the manuscript was given 1635 by Thomas, Earl of Southampton, from the library bought by him of William Crashaw, M.A., once fellow of this college.

- f. 1. (=back of frontispiece)=space ruled as for table of contents; at the top, in a beautiful fourteenth century or fifteenth century hand, is written : *Liber domini petri de Norwico*, and in a later hand : *Ricardus Heremita de Ampullis.*

In isto libro continentur que secuntur :

Tractatus Ricardi heremite de incendio amoris dei.

Item liber eiusdem qui uocatur Melos contemplatiuorum.

Item tractatus de iuste iudicando.

- f. 1*b*. (Full-page frontispiece of Crucifixion. This looks unfinished, though coloured, when compared with the beautiful border and initial on folio following.)

- f. 2. In nomine domini. Incipit tractatus de incendio amoris uenerabilis Ricardi heremite de ampullis.

Admirabar amplius quam enuncio (The initial letter has a picture of a hermit, apparently in a barrel, holding a pen in one hand, a book in the other. On the book is written : *In dei nomine*, and there is a small house, or chapel, in the background. The writing is clear and little contracted, but the scribe makes grammatical slips, and is not particularly intelligent. Chapters marked, but not numbered.)

- f. 40. . . . saluus ero.

- f. 40*b*. (Blank).

- f. 41. Incipit tractatus uenerabilis Ricardi heremite de Ampullis qui uocatur Melos contemplatiuorum. Amor utique audacem efficit animum. (The initial is similar to that on f. 2, and has a picture of a monk, or hermit, seated, holding a book and rosary.)

1. Last prior and first dean of Ely.

f. 161. . . . fruentes sine fine. Amen.

Incipit tractatus uenerabilis Rycardi heremite de ampullis de iuste iudicando et recte discernendo. Judica me deus, etc. A deo qui scrutatur

f. 169b. Cupienti mihi rapieris iubilare.

f. 170. De modo audiendi confessionem. Istis iam dictis

f. 173. De modo inquirendi de fide. Deinde petat sacerdos

f. 176. Quomodo penitencia sit iniungenda. Audita confessione . .

f. 178b. . . . debent mitti. Explicit tractatus S—— (unfinished).

Emmanuel MS. 35¹=(j).

This important manuscript has been followed in the text.

Dr. James's Catalogue : " Paper, 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. by 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in., ff. 237, 30 lines to a page. On f. 1 Geo. Davenport 1692. Has suffered from damp." The long marginal notes made by John Newton (see pp. 14, 15), unmentioned by Dr. James, date the manuscript as written before his death, in 1414.

f. 1. Syllabus Librorum :

Oleum effusum nomen tuum per Richardum Hampole.
Hampole super xlii psalmum.

Hampole de actiua uita et contemplatiua.

Hampole de causa hereticorum et fide trinitatis (= *Incendium*, chapter 6).

Expositio oracionis dominice secundum R. Hampole heremitam.

Liber qui uocatur Incendium Amoris secundum R. Hampole.

Augustinus de uera uita.

Meditaciones imaginis uite secundum Bonauenturam.

Liber cuius initium desideratur.

Hampole in libro qui uocatus melum amoris.

f. 2. (Without incipit.) *Oleum effusum nomen tuum, ideo adolescentule dilexerunt te nimis.* Nomen Ihesu uenit in mundum, et statim adoratur oleum effusum. Oleum capitur quia eterna saluacio speratur. Ihesus uero, scilicet saluator est salutaris

f. 3b. . . . quanto in amore eius perfecti, tanto nomen ihesu mihi dulcius et suauius sapiebat, et eciā usque hodie non recedit a me : ergo sit nomen ihesu benedictum in secula seculorum. Amen. (As printed in Cologne, 1536, edition of Rolle's works, f. cxliiii.)

1. Old Catalogue, MS. 2, 14.

Adolescentule dilexerunt te nimis. Et quia est nomen tuum tam dulce, tam suaue, tam confortabile

- f. 10. . . . felicitate clamabit, trahe me post te, etc. *Curremus in odorem unguentorum tuorum. Ecce fratres mira amatoris christi instancia dum trahi postulat*
- f. 16. . . . dum trahimur, dum canimus amoris canticum curremus in odorem unguentorum tuorum. Omnis accio laudabilis siue reprehensibilis ex uoluntate habet laudem siue reprehensionem. In uoluntate namque est radix et principum omnium accionum que sunt in nostra potestate; et si non possumus quod uolumus, iudicatur tamen a deo unusquisque de propria uoluntate. Nolite ergo considerare tantum quid facitis, sed quid uelitis, non tantum que sunt opera uestra, quantum que sit uoluntas uestra. Omnis enim accio que fit recta et iusta uoluntate, recta est, et que fit non recta uoluntate, recta non est. Iusta uoluntate dicitur homo iustus, et iniusta uoluntate dicitur homo iniustus. Si ergo uultis bene uiuere, uoluntatem uestram bene custodite, et indesinenter in magnis et in minimis in his que uestre potestati subiacent, et in hiis que non potestis, ne aliquatenus a rectitudine declinetis. Si autem uultis cognoscere an uoluntas uestra sit recta, illa pro certe est recta que subiacet uoluntati dei. (= *Epistola Anselmi*, cxxxiii, *Patrologia Latina*, clix, 167. See p. 58.)
- f. 16. Si quis sancte aut iuste uiuat. (= *Incendium*, chapter 12.)
- f. 17. cum infelicitate florerem. (= *Incendium*, chapter 15.)
- f. 19. . . . non ad detrahendum incitemini.
Ex magno amoris incendio.
. . . . eternaliter in celis gaudebunt amen. (As in Cologne, 1536, f. cxliiii.) Explicit oleum effusum secundum Hampoll. (i.e., the *Oleum* is part of Rolle's *Comment on the Canticles*, see p. 60.)
- f. 19b. Hampole super hunc psalmum: Iudica me deus, etc., a domino qui scrutatur cor et renes (These folios have closely written marginal notes, in Newton's hand.)
- f. 22b. . . . uidetur uitam interrompere. Explicit fructuosus tractatus Ricardi Hampole heremite.
- f. 23. Hampole de actiua uita et contemplatiua: Mulierem fortem quis inueniret
- f. 24b. a recta uia uariatur.

Hampol. De causa hereticorum et fide trinitatis. (In different hand: i.e., chapter 6 of *Incendium*. Part of the long text of the *Incendium* follows, till f. 58b. . . . "labore

facit sustinentes," = end of cap. 40 of *Incendium*. Newton here adds: "Require alia duo capitula alibi.")

- f. 59. "Tabula huius libri additur per magistrum Iohannem de Neuton." (A table of chapter headings follows, as in (n), and as written separately before the chapters in (f) and Misyn. The writing is that of the marginal notes to the short text of the *Incendium*, which follows; and also of the note on f. 99; it is careful and regular, and therefore looks earlier than that of the text itself, which is rather straggling. It is very similar to that of Newton's Register at York. See *Intro.*, pp. 64-79 and *Index*.)
- f. 60. Expositio oracionis dominice secundum R. H. heremitam. Pater noster qui es in celis, etc. Hec oracio priuilegiata est
- f. 63. Liber qui uocatur Incendium Amoris secundum Ricardum Hampull.

Admirabar amplius quam enuncio. (The short text of the *Incendium* follows, in the handwriting of the *Oleum*, *Iudica me deus*, and *Mulierem fortem*. The chapters are marked and numbered in the margin by John Newton, and he has written against passages omitted in the short text, "Require tale capitulum a sinistra parte ad tale signum 0," "Require alibi," etc., etc. Such passages are usually found in ff. 25-58b. = roughly, chapters 6-40 of the long text of the *Incendium*; but chapters 12 and 15 are not in these folios, but among the passages (ff. 16-19) often found after the *Comment on the Canticles*; Newton marked their absence in the short text with the direction: "Require capitulum duodecimum in tractatu qui dicitur *Oleum effusum*," etc.; and he has marked them on ff. 16, 17, "Capitulum duodecimum incendii amoris," "Capitulum quintum decimum de incendio amoris.")

- f. 99. . . . short text ends "saluus ero": but Newton has added the remaining paragraph till "summo imperatori in secula seculorum Amen" (i.e., the explicit of the long text), and also: "Hic correctus per librum quem sanctum Ricardus de H. propria manu scripsit." (As the "book in Rolle's own hand" does not now, probably, exist, this note renders Newton's notes authoritative for the text. His emendations are, however, substantially the same as the ordinary long text of the *Incendium*. Besides inserting the omitted passages, sometimes in the margin, sometimes on a small interleaved folio, he has corrected most

of the single words where the short text differs from the long text, and where (*j*) has individual slips.)

The MS. seems to have been written by two hands, that of the *Oleum* at the beginning, and that of ff. 25-58b, = part of the long text of the *Incendium* (these are quite distinct from Newton's hand). Of these two:

- ff. 2-24b. (*Oleum*, and chapters 12, 15, etc., of *Incendium*, the *Iudica me deus*, and *Mulierem fortem*)
 - ff. 63-163b. (The short text of *Incendium*; Augustinus, *De uera uita*; Bonaventura, *Meditaciones imaginis uite*)
 - ff. 195-204. (Beginning of the *Melum contemplatiuorum*)
- are in the hand of the *Oleum*; and the folios in the second hand include
- ff. 25-58b. (Part of long text of *Incendium*.)
 - ff. 61-62b. (Expositio oracionis dominice.)
 - ff. 164-192. (The *De amore dei contra amatores mundi*.)
 - ff. 204-235. (The end of the *Melum contemplatiuorum*.)

An interesting feature of this manuscript is the signature at the bottom of f. 22, in a sixteenth century hand, "Sewella Sionita Reclusa." (See Introd., pp. 79-83.) Monograms in the same hand occur on several folios; on f. 21b J. S. and J. G. (J. S. for Joanna Sewella, and J. G. for James Greenhalgh),¹ while the monogram J. G. occurs also on ff. 22, 169, 171, 173, 174, 175, 175b, 176b, 180b, 182, 183, 184, 188, 188b, 190. The same hand has also written on f. 174 "Sewellam zenue" (or renue?), on f. 175b, relative to a passage in the text, "Contra prelatos"; and on ff. 183, 191, an elaborately drawn NOTA.

Caius MS. 140=(k).

Dr. James's Catalogue: "Vellum, 10in. by 7in., mostly in double columns of 48 and 58 lines. Cent. XV, in several fairly good hands. Given by W. Moore." The only works of Rolle which it contains are the *Incendium*, and the "*Nouem uirtutes*."

- f. 17. Admirabar amplius quam enuncio (Long text of *Incendium* follows, in two columns, in running and rather difficult hand, but carefully written, without mistakes. Chapters marked but not numbered, and without headings.)

1. For their identity, see p. 82; and for another *Incendium* MS. containing their monogram, see p. 2.

- f. 49. . . . summo imperatori in secula seculorum. Explicit Incendium Amoris sancti Ricardi de Hampole.
- f. 83. Hic continentur nouem uirtutes quas d.n. I.C. cuidam sancto uiro uolenti deo seruire, necnon deuote facere que deo placent, ore suo reuelabit sibi dicens primo (the Latin text of the *Nouem Uirtutes* follows).

THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD.

Bodleian MS. 861=(1).

From the new Catalogue,¹ now in preparation by Mr. Madan, and which he kindly allowed the writer to see in manuscript: "In Latin, on paper, written in 1411 in England. 12in. by 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ in., IV+170 leaves. With some illuminated capitals, etc. Works by Richard Rolle of Hampole, except where otherwise stated. Date, on folio 49, May 13, 1411. . . . 'Liber librarii Wigornensis inde desumptus Mar. 22 1590 et illuc restituendus' (in the hand of William Thornhill, preb. of Worcester 1584—1626)." The writing, in two columns, is very small, and much abbreviated.

- f. 1. Magna spiritualis iocunditas (=Rolle's Latin *Comment* on the Psalter, and six Old Testament Canticles,²—a work quite distinct from his *Comment on the Canticum Canticorum*.)
- f. 51. Amor utique audacem (=the *Melum contemplatiuorum*.)
- f. 81. . . . Explicit melum contemplatiuorum. Incipit tractatus de primo uersiculo canticorum per Ricardum H. Suspirantis anime deliciis (=first section of Rolle's *Comment on the Canticles*, see p. 60. The scribe does not mark sub-headings with a capital, but apparently the whole comment on verse 1 is here, down to):
- f. 85. . . . ad christum suspirando clamans. Osculetur me osculo oris sui unguentis optimis. Explicit tractatus super primum uersiculum canticorum et incipit tractatus super secundum uersiculum Nomen Iesu uenit in mundum
- f. 90. . . . dum canimus amoris canticum, curremus in odorem unguentorum tuorum. Explicit super sir asirim³ cantus

1. *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, partis quintae fasciculus primus.

2. For the M.E. version, see H. R. Bramley's *Psalter*, translated by Richard Rolle of Hampole, p. 494.

3. Vulgate heading: *Canticum Cantieorum Salomonis quod Hebraice dicitur Sir Hasirim*.

secundum Ricardum heremitam. Incipit tractatus super psalmum uicesimum. Cum christus qui est ueritas
 f. 93. Hic incipit sanctus liber Ricardi H. uenerabilis hampul de amore dei contra amatores mundi. Cap 1, Quoniam mundaniorum

f. 96. . . . commendo sine fine. Amen. Die marcii ultimo. De amore dei contra amatores mundi secundum Ricardum H. Finis libri secundi. Tercius liber dicitur de incendio amoris qui sic incipit, Admirabar amplius quam enuncio quando siquidem sentiui cor meum primitus incallescere et igne estuare.

f. 96b. Omnis accio laudabilis (*Epistola Anselmi*) uoluntati dei siquis autem sancte aut iuste uiuat (Beneath the *Omnis accio laudabilis*, in the same hand, is written the note, "Nota quod ab inicio alteracionis uite et mentis," found also in (w), f. 112b, and printed pp. 188, 189.)

f. 100. Cum infeliciter florerem

f. 100b. . . . non ad detrahendum incitemini. Intelligendo eciam quod ex magno amoris incendio eternitaliter gaudebunt.

Explicit quomodo perueni ad incendium amoris.

Admonicio ualde salubris de elemosina secundum R.H. (=part of Latin text of the *Nouem Uirtutes*.)

Iudica me deus

f. 102b. . . . interrompere. Hec Ricardus heremita dixit in libro quem habuit heremita de Tanfeld die ueneris natali domini sancti iohannis 1409. et undique pedes 48 millia ibat.¹ *Trin. Coll., Dublin, MS., A. 6. 9* (=No. 153), also has a note at the end of the *Iudica me deus*, "Hec Ricardus heremita dicit in quodam libello quem habuit heremita de Tanfeld."² Tanfield, Yorkshire, is in the archdeaconry of Richmond, and any reference to a "Hermit of Tanfield" would probably have been found in the Archdeacons' registers, rather than in the archiepiscopal registers at York. These, unfortunately, do not exist; the documents of the archdeaconry of Richmond, recently transferred from Somerset House to York, containing nothing earlier than the sixteenth century. Dr. Matthew Hutton's extracts from fourteenth century entries in the registers (*Harl. MSS., 69-78*)³ contain no reference to a

1. The date, "Friday in Christmas, S. John's Day" = Dec. 27, 1409.

2. See *Athenæum*, 23 Aug., 1913.

3. I am indebted for the reference to Prof. Tait.

hermit of Tanfield. I do not think that the "book which the Hermit of Tanfeld had" is the same as the "book in Rolle's own hand" from which John Newton corrected the short text of the *Incendium*. *Trin. Coll. MS.*, A. 6. 9 does not contain the *Incendium*; and although (l) does, it was evidently intended to be a collection of all Rolle's Latin works, and was almost certainly copied from more than one source.

- f. 102b. *Incendium amoris* hic incipit, habet uiginti duo capitula. Admirabar amplius quam enuncio . . . (The long text of the *Incendium* follows, the Prologue being numbered "cap. 1," as in Misyn. The number of chapters given is curious, perhaps a mistake for the correct 42. It is evident from a previous note in this MS. and from a note¹ written on a label attached to ff. 103, 103b, that the scribe regarded four Latin works of Rolle as having a certain connexion; and the scribe of (x) has a somewhat similar arrangement. See p. 32.)

(l)

1. *Postillae super Canticum Canticorum.*
2. *De amore dei contra amatores mundi.*
3. *Incendium amoris.*
4. *Regula uiuendi.*

(x)

1. *Regula uiuendi.*
2. *De amore dei contra amatores mundi.*
3. *Incendium amoris.*
4. *Melum contemplatiuorum.*

- f. 122b. . . . in secula seculorum. Amen. Secundum Ricardum heremitam.
- f. 123. Apocalypsis ihesu christi quam dedit ille deus. (Rolle's *Comment on the Apocalypse*.) . . .
- f. 128. . . . scilicet sanctam scripturam.
- f. 128b. *Regula uiuendi*, distincta in duodecim capitula. Ne tardes conuerti ad dominum. (= *Emendacio uite*.)

1. The note runs: "*Hinc incipit liber tercius qui uocatur incendium amoris, habet xxii capitula. Admirabar amplius quam enuncio quando siquidem sentiui cor meum primitus (et hic caret folium in fine iscius quaterni, et in principio similiter iscius quaterni caret folium, et illud folium non est secundum folium in quaterno quod clausum misi ad uos, quia est finis. liber secundus habet totum secundum librum, de amore dei contra amatores mundi in quaterno uestro clauso et signato. uerte folium) et ponatur in loco suo, quia quilibet quaternus habet xii folia, uester quaternus xiii,*"—an interesting, if rather obscure, bookbinder's note, suggesting that the book was not copied all in one place (clausum misi ad uos).

ff. 133-138. (Not Rolle.)

f. 138. Quomodo sedet sola ciuitas (= Rolle's *Postille in threnos*).

f. 143. Pater¹ noster qui es in celo, etc. Hec oracio priuilegiata est

f. 143b. . . . in ueritate. Idem R. super symbolum. Decimo die post ascensionem domini. (= Rolle's *Comment on the Apostles' Creed*.)

f. 146b. . . . hereditabit. per Ricardum Hampoll. Etas mundi 5050 minus uno, anno domini (space). Nota quia ab inicio alteracionis uite et uie (=slightly shortened form of the note copied earlier on f. 96b, see pp. 188, 189) . . . gracias deo laudes incessanter. amen. qui anno domini 1349 apud hampul monachorum. (Etas mundi 5050 minus uno = 1288. Mr. Madan suggests that 1288 indicates the year of Rolle's birth, twelve years earlier than the usually accepted date, c. 1300; but the fact that the scribe left a space after "anno domini" suggests that if he were about to record the year of Rolle's birth, he was not sufficiently certain to write the year in ordinary chronology.)

f. 148. Parce mihi domine (Rolle, *Super nouem lecciones mortuorum*).

f. 165. . . . inhabitans in eternum. Expliciunt postille Ricardi heremite.

f. 166. Hic beatus Athanasius. (= Rolle's *Comment on the Athanasian Creed*.)

f. 166b. . . . et nunquam deficient. Explicit. Magnificat anima mea dominum (= Rolle's *Comment on the Magnificat*.)

f. 167. . . . perducatur Ihesus Christus. Amen. (End of volume.)

Bodleian MS. 16=(*m*).

Vellum, 6in. by 4in., very clearly written. Sec. XV.

Chapters marked, but not numbered.

f. 105. Admirabar amplius quam enuncio (The short text of the *Incendium* follows.)

153. . . . saluus ero. Explicit. Oleum effusum nomen tuum (=part of Rolle's *Comment on the Canticles*)

f. 157. . . . non recedit a me. Ergo sit nomen Ihesu benedic-

1. ff. 143, 143b, has another label with a bookbinder's note: "Finis iscius libri Iob est primum folium in quaterno uestro clauso (.) et incipit cum uita gloriose uirginis matris marie et habet iste quaternus xiiii folia quorum secundum folium incipit 'circa.' alii quaterni habent xii folia." The reference to Iob is to f. 148, and to the "uita gloriose uirginis" to f. 166b.

tum in secula seculorum. amen. (The other works are not Rolle's, though one of them, the *Speculum peccatoris*, is sometimes ascribed to him. (f. 157b, Quoniam in huius uite fugientes sumus f. 165b prudentes prouidens. Explicit).)

Bodleian MS. 66=(n).

Octavo. Sec. XV. Well written. Chapters numbered as in (f), but the chapter-headings are given in the form of a tabula, at the end, as in (j). The chapters are numbered up to xlii, and there is no division into books. There are no references to John Newton, or to previous owners of the manuscript,—which contains only the *Incendium* and table of chapter-headings.

Admirabar amplius—calefacere conor, quam in d (unfinished).

- f. 1. Hic incipit libellus qui uocatur incendium amoris. Admirabar amplius quam enuncio (=long text of *Incendium*.)
- f. 79b. . . . in secula seculorum. amen. R. Ampolle. Explicit liber de incendio amoris.
- f. 80. Table of chapter headings.

Laud misc. MS. 202=(o).

Octavo. Sec. XV. Very clearly written in upright hand. Contains works of S. Chrysostom, S. Bernard; and also Rolle's *Emendacio uite*, and the *Speculum peccatoris* (f. 35).

- f. 42. Incipit prologus libri sequentis. Admirabar amplius quam enuncio. (Short text of the *Incendium* follows; "De Incendio amoris Cap." is written over every page, the chapters being numbered i—xxi; and the usual passages following the short text of the *Incendium* being counted as part of the *Incendium*, and numbered up to xxvii. See table, p. 36)
- f. 73. . . . saluus ero. Amen. De nomine Ihesu, cap. xxii. Oleum effusum nomen tuum Nomen Ihesu uenit in mundum. (=part of Rolle's *Comment on the Canticles*.)
- f. 76. . . . benedictum sit in secula seculorum. amen. Adolescentule dilexerunt te nimis. Cap. xxiii.
- f. 82. . . . feliciter clamabit trahe me post te. Curremus in odorem . . . cap. xxiii.

- f. 87b. . . . amamus ergo dum trahimur, dum canimus amoris canticum, curremus in odorem unguentorum tuorum.
 Omnis accio laudabilis . . . cap. xxv. (= *Epistola Anselmi*.)
- f. 88. . . . uoluntate dei. Si quis sancte. (= *Incendium*, chapter 12.)
- f. 88b. . . . accepi corporalem. Cum infeliciter florerem (= *Incendium*, chapter 15.)
- f. 90. . . . detrahendum incitemini. Ex magno amoris incendio.
- f. 91b. eternaliter in celis gaudebunt. Amen.
 Explicit liber qui dicitur Incendium Amoris.
 (Besides the marginal numbering of the chapters, over every page is written : [*Oleum*] De Incendio amoris cap. xxii. [*Adolescentule*] D.I.A. cap. xxiii. [*Curremus*] D.I.A. cap. xxiiii. [*Omnis accio*] D.I.A. cap. xxv. [*Siquis*] D.I.A. cap. xxvii. [*Ex magno*] D.I.A. cap. xxvii.)

Laud misc. MS. 528=(p).

Bodleian Catalogue of the Laud manuscripts.¹ "Codex membranaceus, in 4to, ff. 97, sec. XV ineuntis; quondam Johannis Ston et Agnetis uxoris, ex dono Johannis, fratris ord. Min., postea Gulielmi le Neve, Clarencieux regis Armorum." The manuscript, 12in. by 10in., is clearly written in an upright hand, but has suffered from damp at the edges.

- f. 1. Ipso sibi karissimis Iohanni Ston et agneti consorti sue frater Iohannis fratrum minorum in anglia minister et seruus salutem.
- f. 2. In isto uolumine continentur isti libri, viz. : xii capitula Ricardi heremite. Confessiones eiusdem Ricardi. Oleum effusum nomen tuum. Expositio ix leccionum mortuorum. Incendium Amoris.

Oracio de sancto Ricardo heremita.

potens pater nos attende,
 nos accende, nos defende,
 ad nos manum tu extende,
 bonis nobis tu impende
 sanctis tuis precibus.

1. *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae partis secundae fasciculus primus*, p. 386.

- f. 3. Hic incipit tractatus secundum Ricardum heremitam de hampul in cimiterio sanctimonialium de hampule humatum. Qui obiit anno domini M^oCCC^oXL^o nono. Qui tractatus est de emendacione peccatoris : et habet duodecim capitula.
- f. 11. Explicit libellus Ricardi heremite de emendacione peccatoris.
- f. 12b. eiusdem beati Ricardi qui intitulatur Iudica me deus, extractus de uerbis et libris sanctorum patrum precedentium sub compendio ad utilitatem christianorum et percipue sacerdotum parochialium, et aliorum curam habentium animarum. viz. de meditacionibus sanctis Quomodo sacerdos parochialis uel alius curam habens animarum se debet habere in regendo, predicando et informando (17 other headings relative to various duties of a parish priest, especially in hearing confessions, and therefore *a priori* unlikely to have been written by Rolle, who was not a priest himself.)
- f. 13. Iudica me deus et discerne causam meam
- f. 23. . . . et penam addidit dicens : Ne tibi deterius contingat (rest of treatise apparently missing).
- f. 24. Hic incipit Oleum effusum nomen tuum Ricardi. Expulsus a paradiso pro transgressione
- f. 25. Oleum effusum nomen tuum—nomen ihesu uenit in mundum.
- f. 26b. . . . sit benedictum in secula seculorum. Amen.
Adolescentule dilexerunt (then, without break or capitals till)
- f. 41b. . . . illaberis mihi in tua dulcedine, tu mecum et meis commende sine fine. amen. (*i.e.*, the explicit of the *De amore dei contra amatores mundi*.)
- f. 42. Parce mihi Domine (*i.e.*, the *Nouem lecciones mortuorum*).
- f. 77b. . . . Explicit iste tractatus quem componit uenerabilis Ricardus Heremita super exposicionem ix leccionum mortuorum.
- f. 78. (Scribal note : dextra scribentis regatur omnipotentis.) Hic incipit Incendium amoris sancti Ricardi heremite de Hampule. Admirabar amplius quam enuncio. (Short text of *Incendium* follows, the chapters being neither marked nor numbered)
- f. 97b. . . . saluus ero. Explicit Incendium amoris Ricardi heremite de Hampull. Ihesu.

Rawlinson M S. A. 389=(q).

Small folio, vellum. Sec. XV early. Writing not very clear.

- f. 1. De emendacione uite. (Rolle's: then other treatises not by Rolle, till):
- f. 32. Incipit liber qui uocatur Incendium amoris. Admirabar amplius quam enuncio. (The long text of the *Incendium* follows, the chapters being marked, but without numbers or marginal headings. There is no break between Books 1 and 2.)
- f. 77. . . . in secula seculorum. Amen. Explicit liber de incendio amoris. (Other M.E. works of Rolle follow, among them: *Ego dormio et cor meum uigilat*: "Ye that lyste luf.")

Rawlinson MS. C. 397.

Contains only an excerpt from the last chapter of the *Incendium*.

- f. 78. De languenti dei amore et de contricione et proprietate Philomene. (= *Incendium*, part of chapter 42, p. 277.)

OXFORD COLLEGES.

Corpus Christi College MS. 193=(r).

Coxe's Catalogue, I, p. 77: "Membranaceus, in folio minori, sec. XIV exeuntis, olim Johannis Hanton, monachi Ebor., postea Rob. de Lacy, qui fundavit prioratum de Pontefracto, cuius insignia gentilitia in fronte videntur." The handwriting is clear and upright. On the inside of the wooden cover is written: Liber fratris Iohannis hanton monachi Ebor.

Opera Richardi Hampole Heremite qui uixit tempore Edwardi tercii regis. (A list follows, including Rolle's Latin *Comment on the Psalter and six Old Test. Canticles*, the *Nouem lecciones mortuorum* (f. 112), the *Postille super threnos Ieremie* (f. 135), then

- f. 142b. Explicit postilla Ricardi heremite super threnos:
Incipit postilla eiusdem super canticum canticorum.
(cap. 1.) Suspirantis anime deliciis eternorum. *Osculetur me osculo oris sui* . . . (A complete text of Rolle's

Comment on the Canticles follows. Miss H. Allen informs me that the only other complete texts are *Trin. Coll., Dublin, MS.*; A. 6. 9 [No. 153], (t) and (l).

f. 146. *Quia meliora sunt ubera tua uino, fragrantia unguentis optimis. Fidelis et delicate Cum laudasset sponsa*

. . . .

f. 149b. . . . ad christum suspirando clamans: Osculetur me unguentis optimis. Explicit tractatus super primum uersiculum canticorum, et incipit tractatus super secundum uersiculum. Expulsus a paradiso pro transgressione O uirgo singularis, O mater ineffabilis impinguat diligentem, depascit retinentem, igitur: *Oleum effusum nomen tuum, et ideo adolescentule dilexerunt te nimis.*

Nomen ihesu uenit in mundum

Ideo adolescentule dilexerunt te nimis et quia est nomen tuum tam dulce tam suaue igitur O bone ihesu propicius esto nobis miseris quia adolescentule d.t.n.

Trahe me post te. Radix cordis nostri sit caritas

Curremus in odorem unguentorum tuorum. Ecce fratres mira amatoris christi instantia

f. 156. . . . sed hoc non est ex me sed ex te, deus meus, amodo igitur canimus amoris canticum. *Curremus in odorem unguentorum tuorum.* Explicit super secundum uersiculum canticorum secundum Ricardum heremitam. Incipit tractatus super psalmum uicesimum. Cum christus qui est ueritas

f. 160. Tractatus super oratione dominica.

f. 165. Incipit libellus eiusdem de emendacione peccatoris. Ne tardes conuerti ad dominum

f. 171b. Hic incipit liber de amore dei contra amatores mundi.

Quoniam mundaniorum

. . . . illabere mihi in tua dulcedine te mecum et meis commendo sine fine. Amen.

f. 180b. (Without incipit or title, except, in a later hand: "Incipit eiusdem Melodia amoris"). Admirabar amplius quam enuncio (the long text of the *Incendium* follows: there are no chapter-headings, but spaces seem left, as if for these. The chapters are not numbered: but the hand which wrote the title has added in the margin, against chapter 13: "Incipit eiusdem Commendacio uite Eremitice"; and against chapter 15 (Dum infeliciter florerem) "Incipit tractatus de incendio amoris.")

- f. 206. . . . in secula seculorum. Amen. (No explicit.)
 f. 206b. Amor utique audacem. (= Rolle's *Melum Contemplatiuorum*.)
 f. 251b. Explicit melos contemplatiuorum ardencium in amore dei. R.H. Iudica me deus
 f. 255b. Incipit eiusdem speculum peccatoris. Quoniam karissimi in huius uia uite fugientes sumus
 f. 261. De laudi tribulacionis (*i.e.*, not Rolle).

Balliol College MS. 224¹=(s).

Folio, vellum. Sec. XV. Writing very clear, arranged in two columns. f. 1 is misbound, and should come between f. 9 and f. 10. Manuscript acquired by Balliol, "ex dono uenerendi in Christo patris et domini, domini Willelmi Gray Eliensis." On the first page is a list of contents in a XVII-century hand: "R. Hampole, Super duos primus uersiculos canticorum," etc.

- f. 3. (Folio with beautiful border.) Incipit tractatus super primum uersiculum canticorum. Suspirantis anime delicias
Osculetur me, inquit, osculo oris sui.
 f. 6. *Quia meliora sunt ubera tua uino* f. 8. Cum laudasset sponsa
 f. 10. Expulsus a paradiso pro transgressione *Oleum effusum nomen tuum ideo adolescentule dilexerunt te nimis.* Nomen ihesu uenit in mundum
 f. 11b. *Adolescentule dilexerunt te nimis.* Et quia tale est nomen tuum
 f. 13. *Trahe me post te*
 f. 15. *Curremus in odorem unguentorum tuorum*
 f. 18b. . . . dum canimus amoris canticum. Curremus in odorem unguentorum tuorum. (Rolle's *De amore dei contra amatores mundi* follows, "Quoniam mundaniorum . . .")
 f. 39. (Without incipit or heading.) Admirabar amplius quam enuncio . . . (The short text of the *Incendium* follows, the chapters being unnumbered.)
 f. 152b. . . . saluus ero. Amen. Explicit liber de incendio amoris et incipit quomodo perueni ad incendium amoris.
 Omnis accio laudabilis (= *Epistola Anselmi*) uoluntati dei; (then, without any mark or capital) si quis

sancte aut iuste uiuat (=chapter 12 *Incendium*) corporalem. Cum infeliciter florerem (=chapter 15 *Incendium*) incitemini. Intelligendum eciam ex magno amoris incendio gaudebunt. Explicit quomodo perueni ad incendium amoris.

(Domine deus meus, etc.)

S. John's College MS. 127=(t).

Coxe's Catalogue, Part II, p. 37. "Codex chartaceus, in 4to, sec. XV, ex dono Joh. Whyte de Suthwycke. 1555." Thin volume, ink faint, and writing not very clear; not foliated.

- f. 1. Incipit tractatus de amore dei contra amatores mundi.
- f. 25. Admirabar amplius quam enuncio (The short text of the *Incendium* follows. Chapters not marked or numbered, but spaces left for capitals at beginning of paragraphs. Small marginal notes at intervals, "Nota de conuersione suo," etc.)
- f. 56b. . . . saluus ero. Amen. Explicit tractatus uocatur incendium amoris. (Then some verse scribbled in a different hand, with the names Bloxham and Alexander Biseld occurring in it.)
- f. 57. Incipit tractatus super canticum canticorum. Suspirantis anime deliciis (as *Vesp.* E. 1; but very closely written, and not easy to read)
Quia meliora sunt (the scribe has written against this in the margin) :
Non in carne tibi fiet fiducia, carnem
Comprime ne reprimat te uiciosa caro.
Cum laudassat sponsa
Expulsus a paradiso retinentem: ergo oleum effusum nomen tuum. (Then, missing the sections *Oleum* and *Adolescentule*.)
Trahe me post te felicitate clamabit, trahe me post te.
Curremus in odorem, etc. Ecce fratres. . . .
- f. 77b. . . . dum canimus amoris canticum. Curremus in odorem unguentorum tuorum. *Omnis accio laudabilis* (= *Epistola Anselmi*).
- f. 78. Si quis sancte (*Incendium*, chapter 12) (probably also chapter 15, not marked.)
- f. 78b. . . . corporalem. Ex magno amoris incendio

eternaliter gaudebunt. Amen. (In different hand :
Johannes Blexham est bonus homo, hec dicit iohannes
Wodestoke senior.)

[Magdalen College MS. 115 does not contain Rolle's *Canticles*, i.e., *Comment on the Song of Songs*, as Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannica*, p. 374, note 3, implies. The mistake probably arose because Rolle's *Comment on the Old Testament Canticles* (really the conclusion of his Latin *Comment on the Psalter*—"Magna spiritualis iocunditas") are written out twice over, i.e.

- f. 158. Hic incipit super sex psalmos canticorum—Confitebor tibi Domine, etc.
f. 166. Expositio Ricardi Hampoll super sex cantica. Canticum Ysaie. Confitebor tibi Domine.]

OTHER MSS.

Lincoln Cathedral MS. C. 4, 6=(u).

Vellum, 10in. by 6in. Sec. XV early. With wooden covers, not foliated. In different hands, first part of book very careful and clear: later part more contracted. Beautiful initials, with very spirited little drawings in colour, and in margins: monks, kings, devils, the Last Judgment, monks holding devil's nose with tongs, etc., etc. On fly leaf, in early XVI-century hand:

Habentur in hoc libro.

Elucidarium Anselmi.

Sentencie ex patribus.

Uersus aliquot ænigmatici.

Meditaciones d. Bernardi.

Uarii tractatus Richardi Rolle Hampole Eremita. Viz:

Uehiculum uite.

Melodia amoris.

Incendium amoris.

Commendacio uite eremetice.

De nomine ihesu.

In locis aliquot libri Iob.

Obiit Rich. de Hampole anno domini 1349.

(About half-way through book, opposite illustration of gaily dressed man in elaborate head-dress, standing between a furry devil with bat's wings and a monk in white). *Ne tardes conuerti ad dominum* (i.e., Rolle's *Emendacio uite*. Besides the ordinary 12 chapters, chapters 13 and 14 are added: the work ends, apparently imperfectly, before a missing folio).

Melodia amoris (in later hand). *Admirabar amplius quam enuncio* (the short text of the *Incendium* follows, complete till chapter 32; the rest is missing, till almost the few last lines of the short text which ends:) . . . *saluus ero. Amen. Nam exuta a carne* (a Latin sentence or two of the scribe's comment) . . . *Explicit tractatus compilatus a Ricardo heremita qui uocatur incendium amoris cuius anime propicietur deus. Amen.* (This explicit is not marked in red, although some parts of the text are, for no special reason. This is probably the reason why the sixteenth century scribe called the book *Melodia amoris*, having missed the explicit.) Some remarks of the scribe's follow: to the effect that hermits have greater temptations than "alii labiles," and therefore a hermit or anchorite should be apprehensive when not tempted, as S. Gregory says; and "resistere ualemus."

(Rubric: *Incipit tractatus de hoc nomine ihesu compilatus a Ricardo heremita.*) *Oleum effusum nomen tuum* . . . *Nomen ihesu uenit in mundum* (i.e., the *Oleum* section of Rolle's *Comment on the Canticles*) . . . *ergo sit nomen ihesu benedictum in secula seculorum. Amen. Explicit tractatus de nomine ihesu compilatus a Ricardo heremita.*

In lecciones que ad suffragia mortuorum leguntur: *Parce mihi Domine* . . . (The last part is apparently missing, the work ending, after *Miserere mei* heading, ". . . seculorum gaudiorum carnales.")

Lincoln Cathedral M S. B. 4. 1=(v).

Vellum, 12in. by 8in., with wooden covers, not foliated.

Straggling writing, in two columns. The first part of the book is taken up by Grossetête's *Dicta*, followed by a table of contents, and a note.¹ Then follows

1. "In libello dictorum Lyncolniensis sunt capitula 147, quorum quedam sunt breuia uerba, que dum in scola morabar, scripsi breuiter et incomposito sermone ad memorandum; nec sunt de una materia nec ad inuicem

Quoniam karissime in uia uite (*i.e.*, the *Speculum peccatoris* sometimes attributed to Rolle) . . . quomodo nouissima tua prudenter prouidens, etc. Explicit speculum peccatoris Augustini.

Nequaquam, ut quidam aiunt, aliquos in amore christi ardentis (*i.e.*, a passage from the Prologue of the *Incendium*. About five chapters from the long text follow in proper order, then various passages from the long text., then *Omnis accio laudabilis*, and another passage from the *Incendium* (Cellas namque deserere ex rationali causa), then part of the third section of the *Comment on the Canticles*, ending, "ergo sit nomen ihesu benedictum in secula seculorum," followed by

Adolescentule (part of the section of the *Comment on the Canticles* follows) then Adhuc tamen karissime frater potes in preclarissima passione domini (*i.e.*, not the *Incendium*, but probably Rolle) Dubitatur a quibusdam (*i.e.*, a few more passages from the *Incendium*, ending with the explicit of the short text) . . . saluus ero. Explicit Incendium amoris secundum Ricardum Hampull (*i.e.*, the MS. thus contains the greater part of the long text of the *Incendium*, with parts of the third and fourth¹ sections of the *Comments on the Canticles* in the middle, and ends, curiously enough, with the explicit of the short text).

Durham Cathedral MS. B. IV. 35=(w).

Vellum, 10in. by 6 in. Sec. XIV. Bound with 3 fly-leaves of closely written vellum.

- f. 1. Incipit titulus de ligno uite. Christo cruxifixus sum. . . .
- f. 6b. . . . per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.
- f. 7. Tractatus de quattuor uirtutibus Cardinalibus. (In small, upright, probably mid-sixteenth century hand.) . . .
- f. 31b. . . . in primos qui referentur.
- f. 32. (Blank sheet originally, on which has been written in a later hand: Ricardus Ayer (or Axer ?) curatus de Eluet (*i.e.*, Elvet near Durham) discreto uiro necnon discreto curato de Akland: Notum tibi sit, mi frater in christo (a certificate concerning the publication of some banns of

contrectata, quorum titulos posui ut facilius quo uellet lector inueniret. Spondentque plerumque plus aliquando tituli quam soluant capitula lectori. Quedam uero sunt sermones quos eodem tempore ad clerum uel populum feci," etc.

1. See p. 61.

marriage follows, with signature of Ricardus Ayer, and the date: apud Eluet decimo die maii anno domini 1439).

- f. 32b. Parabola Iohannis de Warton. Quattuor homines eunt audire uerbum dei
- f. 33. Admirabar amplius quam enuncio (the long text of the *Incendium* follows. Another early hand has written in the top margin: *Incendium amoris*, and a much later hand has written, "Ricardi Heremite de Hampole, nomen scriptoris in fine legitur, f. 91b and f. 112b." The writing of the *Incendium* itself is irregular, pointed, and certainly fourteenth century;¹ it is in one column, 26 lines to a page. There are no chapter-headings or annotations, and initials, though coloured red, are very simple. Though the MS. is undoubtedly early, it is unlikely that it is "the book in Rolle's own hand" mentioned by John Newton. The conclusive argument against this is the omission of a sentence in chapter 15 which all the other long text MSS. contain (see p. 188 n), and of a few other words in that chapter. The cramping of the writing also on the last page but one of the *Incendium* (f. 91, which suddenly has 42 instead of 27 lines to a page), suggests that the scribe feared he should not be able to copy the remainder of the *Incendium* on to that quaternus, rather than that Rolle wrote the page himself. One would also have expected to find Rolle's original manuscript of the *Incendium* marked at chapter 15, "Quomodo perueni ad incendium amoris," a note in the first person frequently found in other MSS. At the bottom of f. 33 is written a very faint, small note, in a hand as early, and perhaps the same, as that of the text: "Incipit liber qui uocatur Incendium amoris R.H." The chapters are not numbered, but marked with capitals, and there is no division into books. The text is, with very few variants, that of (j) as corrected by Newton.)
- f. 91b. . . . in secula seculorum. Explicit Incendium amoris Ricardi Heremite (a different, but an early hand has added:
- si quis sentiret quo tendet et unde ueniret
nuncquam gauderet set in omni tempore fleret).
- f. 92. Quoniam mundaniorum. (An eighteenth century hand has added: "Liber de Amore Dei contra amatores mundi.

1. Canon Greenwell was kind enough to date the MS. for Miss H. Allen.

secundum Ricardum uenerabilem Heremitam de Hampole.")

f. 112b. . . . te mecum et meis commendo sine fine, etc. Amen.

Explicit liber de Amore dei contra amatores mundi secundum Ricardum uenerabilem Heremitam de Hampole. Amen quoth J.H. (The scribe's initials. This does not affect the question as to whether Rolle himself wrote the *Incendium*, as the writing of the *De amore dei*, though early, is quite a different one. The initials of the scribe, J.H., recall the owner of (r), "Iohannis Hanton, monachus Ebor.," but Mr. Madan has kindly compared the writings for me, and considers them not to be identical.) Nota quod ab inicio alteracionis uite (the note follows, as printed p. 188, which is given also by the scribe of (l). The Durham scribe, J.H., gives "abscondit" for "ascendit," "consumptus" for "consummatus," which seem less good readings, and "purificacionis" instead of "uiscitationis" for the date of the dream. Probably both J.H. and the scribe of (l) had a common source,—which may or may not have been a note made by the Hermit of Tanfield on the MS. of Rolle's which he possessed.)

f. 112b. Incipiunt meditationes Ricardi de Hampole.

f. 113. Euigila anima mea f. 115=end of book.

Hereford Cathedral MS. O. VIII. 1=(x).

Folio, vellum, 16in. by 11in. Dated by Canon W. W. Capes as Sec. XIV late, or Sec. XV early,—probably the latter; in wooden covers, and chained. Writing very clear, in two columns; not foliated. No headings or marginal comments. On the inside of the cover, a XV-century hand, probably the owner's, has written: "liber M(agistri) Oweyin' lloid'," and on the back of the volume, under a horn label,¹ is written "Ex dono magistri Oweni Lloyd quondam Canonici huius ecclesie." These notes are probably the source of an entry in the manuscript, *List of Benefactors to Hereford Cathedral Library*, to be found in the library; under the heading "Ex dono doctoris Oweni Lloyde huius ecclesie canonici" the names of 26 MSS. are given,

1. The books left by Newton to the Chapter of York were "horned and chained" exactly as this volume, see p. 79.

among them: "MS. O. VIII 1, Psalterium, canticum canticorum, et Apocalypsis, glosa. Folio." There is no complete list of the canons of Hereford at this date, and as Dr. Owen Lloid seems not to have held a prebend as well, I have not been able to identify him with certainty. He may very probably have been the Owen Lloid mentioned in Le Neve's *Fasti* as archdeacon of Cornwall 1466-7, chancellor of Exeter in 1467, as collated to the archdeaconry of Barum (Barnstaple) 10 Dec., 1477, and to the archdeaconry of Totnes on 15 Feb., 1478. No other "Owen Lloid" fits as regards dates. On the fly-leaf a XV-century hand has written:

1. Glosa super psalterium secundum
 2. Glosa super cantica canticorum secundum
 3. Quoddam opus solempne uenerabilis heremite Ricardi Hampul, continens in se quattuor libros quorum primus dat regulam uiuendi et continet duodecim capitula. Secundus dat liber: de amore dei. Tercius (space follows. The *Incendium* follows here in the MS., and is marked "hic incipit liber tercius"; the "fourth book" is the *Melos contemplatiuorum*. Cf. (l), ff. 103, 103).
 4. Item glossa super psalmum *quicumque uult* et super psalmum *magnificat* et super *apocalypsim*. For this arrangement, cf. (l), p. 18.
- f. 1. Magna spiritualis iocunditas (= Rolle's *Comment on the Psalter*, till his comment on *Psalm* 150, "Laudate dominum in sanctis eius, etc.: laudat dominum quia non nisi spiritualiter laudandus est" Rolle's *Comment on the Six Old Testament Canticles* follows (misdescribed on fly-leaf and in Catal. as *Glosa super Canticum Canticorum*), i.e.:
- Confitebör tibi domine (Canticum Isaye).
 - Ego dixi in corde meo (Cant. Ezechie).
 - Exaltauit cor meum (Cant. Anne).
 - Cantemus domino (Cant. Moysi. Ex. xv).
 - Domine audiui (Oracio Abacuch).
 - Audite celi (Cant. Moysi. Deut. xxxii).
 - (Three blank folios: then)

Regula uiuendi distincta in duodecim capitula. Ne tardes

conuerti ad dominum (i.e., Rolle's *Emendacio uite*,
 graciaram accio in secula seculorum. amen.

Hic incipit secundus liber Ricardi heremite uenerabilis
 Hampole de amore dei contra amatores mundi. Quoniam
 mundaniorum. ((l) classes also the *De amore dei* as
 Book 2, and the *Incendium* as Book 3)

. . . . commendo sine fine. Amen.

(In top margin, hic incipit liber tercius.) Admirabar
 amplius quam enuncio (The long text of the *Incen-*
dium follows; the chapters are marked with capitals, and
 the text is complete as far as chapter 19, "Si delectau-
 eris"; but from here onwards there are no markings
 or headings, and the text is merely a selection of passages
 from the *Incendium*, ending, without any break, with a
 passage from the end of Rolle's *Comment on the Canti-*
cles: so that the *Incendium* appears to have as explicit,
 the explicit of the latter: "dum canimus amoris canticum
 Curremus in odorem unguentorum tuorum.")

Amor utique audacem efficit animum (= Rolle's *Melos*
contemplatiuorum. In the margin is written: "Hic
 incipit quartus liber de melis angelicis et faciatis bonum
 spacium." In the top margin is written: "Incipit liber
 quartus." The end is imperfect: ". . . caritatem caris-
 simam cunctis commendo. amen. deo gracias."

Hic beatus Athanasius (= Rolle's *Comment on the Atha-*
nasian Creed) nunquam deficient.

Magnificat anima mea (= Rolle's *Comment on the Mag-*
nificat) ad quos perducatur nos christus ihesus.

Apocalypsis ihesu christi quam dedit (= Rolle's *Comment*
on the Apocalypse) habebat arcum scilicet sanctam
 scripturam. (=end of volume.)

John Rylands Library, Manchester, MS. 18,932=(y).

Paper, 8in. by 6in. Writing probably early XV-century,
 31 lines to page. Occasional vellum folios. MS. not
 foliated.

- f. 2. longus est utique incolatus meus: quia amore langueo
 . . . peregrinus igitur ego sum et aduena, sicut omnes
 patres mei (Psalm. 38. 13). . . . (i.e., part of the first
 section of Rolle's *Comment on the Canticles*, "Suspirantis
 anime deliciis," Probably the MS. has about three
 folios missing, and originally contained the whole *Com-*
ment on the Canticles, see explicits.)

- f. 9. *Quia meliora sunt ubera tua uino, fragrantia tua unguentis optimis.* Fidelis et delicate depasta (i.e., Section 2 of the *Comment on the Canticles*.)
- f. 12. Cum laudasset sponsa
- f. 13b. . . . ad christum suspirando clamans: Osculetur me osculo oris sui, quia optimis. Explicit primus tractatus. Incipit secundus tractatus super Canticum Canticorum. Expulsus a paradiso pro transgressione . . .
- f. 15. *Oleum effusum nomen tuum:* ideo adolescentule dilexerunt te nimis. Nomen ihesu uenit in mundum
- f. 18. . . . in secula seculorum. *Ideo adolescentule dilexerunt te nimis Trahe me post te.*
- f. 25. *Curremus in odorem unguentorum tuorum*
- f. 31. . . . unguentorum tuorum. Incipit Prologus Ricardi de Hampole heremita de incendio amoris. Cap. i. Admirabar amplius quam enuncio
- f. 31b. . . . sorciatur. Incipit liber qui uocatur Incendium amoris. Cap. ii. Nouerint uniuersi. (The short text of the *Incendium* follows, the chapters being marked and numbered i—xxix, very similarly to the short text manuscript (o), see p. 36.)
- (The chapter "Dulciorem uoluptatem" is marked xxv. *Omnis accio xxvi, Si quis sancte xxvii, Cum infelicitur xxviii, Ex magno amoris xxix.* The writing is very similar to, if not the same as, that of the *Comment on the Canticles* in (j), and the variants in the two MSS. are peculiar and nearly always agree. This is specially noticeable in the Prologue, where both have "imaginatorie" for "imaginarie," "compertus sum" for "continui," "non enim disputando sed agendo scietur ars amandi" for "non enim disputando sed agendo scietur, atque amando.")
- f. 65b. . . . saluus ero. Amen. Cap. xxvi. Omnis accio Cap. xxvii. Si quis sancte
- f. 66b. . . . corporalem. Cap. xxviii. Cum infelicitur.
- f. 68. . . . incitemini Cap. xxix. Ex magno amoris
- f. 68b. . . . in celis gaudebunt. Amen. Incipit tractatus Ricardi Hampole Heremite. de Amore dei contra Amatores mundi. Capitulum primum. Quoniam mundaniorum . . .
- f. 90. . . . commendo sine fine. Amen. Explicit liber de Amore dei contra amatores mundi. Ricardus Hampole Heremita.

- f. 90b. *Bonauentura. Nota de his tribus sequentibus, Augustinus: Hec uero mentem sursum attollunt.*
- f. 91. *In reuelacionibus beate matilde legitur (prob. Revelations of Mechthild of Magdeburg)*
Ricardus Hampole Heremita. Tria uero exercicia cognoscere debes, quibus succendimur ad amorem dei, scilicet, Sacra leccio, oracio et meditacio. Leccio amantem, scilicet christum quem amare debemus, nobis insinuat. Oracio ad amorem christi nos inflamat, Meditacio in amoris dulcedinem nobis subministrat
Legitur in Reuelacionibus sancte Matilde
- f 91b. *De reuelacione Katerine de Senio. I tell the that no penaunce which a dedly body may suffre* (Quotations from the *Revelations of S. Bridget* follow: "in capitulo lxvi°. Sicut receptaculum aque molendinario retinet libro sexto capitulo xxxix° dominus dixit quod non est minimum uerbum nec eciam minima cogitacio Item de eodem libro, Ornatus uoluntatis sunt sancte affeccionnes" *De sancta Katerina*. (About 15 folios follow in different hand. Bound up with the manuscript is a very early Caxton folio.)

Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris.

MS. Lat. 15,700, ff. 40b—70, kindly examined for me by M. Couderc, contains the long text of Rolle's *Incendium Amoris*, with chapters 12 and 15, and the explicit "in aula celesti imperatori in secula seculorum."

INCIPITS AND EXPLICITS OF CHAPTERS OF THE LONG TEXTS OF THE INCENDIUM.

Prologue. Admirabar—sorciatur.

Cap.

1. Nouerint—suas.
2. Manifestum—uidere.
3. Contemplatiui—inspiret.
4. Amoris—consolatore.
5. Inter omnia—reputare.
6. Abundancia—seculorum.
7. Si ideo—merearis.

Cap.

8. Ex magno—castis.
9. Si temporalis—proponit.
10. Dicitur—lingent.
11. Animam—quieto.
12. Si quis—corporalem.
13. Extiterunt—exaltauit.
14. Beatus Iob—augeatur.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 15. Cum infeliciter – incitemini. | 29. Anima – bibit. |
| 16. Deuotus – dilectus. | 30. Sed quere – descendit. |
| 17. Ex munditate – diuitibus | 31. Quoniam – exardescet. |
| 18. Caritas – subdunt. | 32. Electus – emittit. |
| 19. Si delectaueris – morietur. | 33. Sed in hoc – cruciandi. |
| 20. Ad hanc – oraret. | 34. Reuera – langueo. |
| 21. Dubitatur – potuerunt. | 35. O Ihesu – gloriatur. |
| 22. Incendium – gaudium
(lucrum). | 36. Electi – modulatur. |
| 23. Si sordes – odire. | 37. Languentis – student. |
| 24. Cum quis – gloriatur. | 38. Insolubili – contristat. |
| 25. Excellencia – peccare. | 39. Amicicia – transeamus. |
| 26. Uox languentis – consecrata | 40. Diuinitatis – sustinentes. |
| 27. Humiles – corda. | 41. Actus – moriamur. |
| 28. Attende – transit. | 42. Dulciorem – seculorum. |

THE CHAPTERS OF THE INCENDIUM AS NUMBERED IN
VARIOUS SHORT TEXT MANUSCRIPTS.

Numbering of Laud MS. 202.

- f. 42. Admirabar. Prologus. ((y) counts as Cap. 1, Nouerint Cap. 2, etc.)
- f. 43. Nouerint Cap. 1. ((h) counts also *Manifestum est*.)
- f. 45b. Contemplatiui 2. ((s) omits.)
- f. 46. Amoris 3. ((h), (t), (u) have *Inter omnia que agimus* also with capital.)
- f. 48b. [Nihil enim tam suaue.] 4.
- f. 49. Animam humanam 5. (=Cap. 11 of L.T.'s.)
- f. 50b. Extiterunt 6. (=Cap. 13.)
- f. 51b. Beatus Iob 7.
- f. 53b. Deuotus 8. (=Cap. 16.)
- f. 55b. Si delectaueris 9. (=Cap. 19.)
- f. 56. Dubitatur 10. (=Cap. 21.)
- f. 57. Incendium 11. (=Cap. 22.)
- f. 58. [Seruus enim Christi] 12. ((s) omits.)
- f. 58b. Uox languentis 13. (=Cap. 26 (h), (t), (u), (x) mark also [Inuenitur enim Christus in corde] as chapter.)
- f. 61. Quoniam autem 14. (=Cap. 31.)
- f. 62. Electus igitur 15.
- f. 63. Sed in hoc sciat 16.
- f. 63b. [Uidete et intelligite] 17. ((h) does not number chapters, but calls this = Cap. 22.)
- f. 64b. Reuera non absque (number missed = Cap. 34).

- f. 64b. Electi autem qui amori 17. (Cap. 36.)
- f. 67. Languentis spiritus 18.
- f. 69. [Fugiamus ergo] 19.
- f. 69b. Diuinitatis amor 20.
- f. 71b. Dulciorem uoluptatem 21. (Cap. 42=last chapter of L.T.'s.)
- f. 73. Oleum effusum 22.
- f. 76. Adolescentule 23.
- f. 82. Curremus 24.
- f. 87b. Omnis accio 25.
- f. 88. Si quis sancte 26 (most S.T. manuscripts mark *Cum infelicitate* also).
- f. 90. Ex magno amoris incendio 27.

(2) SUBJECT MATTER OF THE INCENDIUM.

The life of Richard Rolle of Hampole, the author of this treatise, has been treated by Dr. C. Horstman in his *Richard Rolle of Hampole and his followers*,¹ and more recently, though more shortly, by Miss Hope Allen, in a monograph on the *Authorship of the Prick of Conscience*.² The monograph deals with the subject of the general bibliography of Rolle, but does not go at length into the question of his life: this however will be dealt with in Miss Allen's forthcoming work, entitled *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Works of Richard Rolle of Hampole*, which will render a formal biography of Rolle here unnecessary. We are dependent for the dates of Rolle's birth and death on notes in the manuscripts of some of his works, and for the other facts of his life upon some autobiographical passages in the *Incendium Amoris*,³ which were introduced into his office.⁴ Though Rolle was never canonized, this office was compiled in readiness for that eventuality by the Hampole nuns with whom he passed the last years of his life. The outline, as supplied by these sources, is familiar: Rolle

1. Library of Early English Writers, London, 1895.

2. Radcliffe College Monographs, no. 15, Boston and London, 1910.

3. For a modern edition of Richard Misyn's (1434-5) translation of Rolle's *Incendium Amoris*, see Miss F. M. Comper's *The Fire of Love and Mending of Life*, 1913.

4. Surtees Soc., no. 75, ii, col. 785, and *Fire of Love*, pp. xlviii, l, liv.

was born,¹ about 1300,² at Thornton Dale, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, and, according to the office, was sent to Oxford by the patronage of Thomas Neville,³ archdeacon of Durham about 1316. Scholasticism was not essentially hostile to mysticism, but Rolle, according to his own account, found the scholastic teaching at Oxford sterile and unprofitable, and about the age of nineteen returned to his Northern home, to enter upon the life of a wandering hermit. "I give thanks to God," he says in the *Incendium*, "Who, without any merit of mine, for my good and for His honour thus chastened His child, thus affrighted His servant, so that it seemed to me a sweet thing to flee the few and transitory delights of the world."⁴ Other passages bear witness to his disgust at the intellectual subtlety he found prevalent at Oxford, and at the "great theologians, wrapped about in endless questionings," and their teaching. Nevertheless, Rolle was not a mystic "in vacuo": he lived in the same century as Hilton and Julian of Norwich, Eckhart and Ruysbroeck, Tauler and Suso, S. Catherine of Siena and Dante Alighieri. The works of earlier mystics, S. Bernard, S. Bonaventura and the Victorines were studied by the spiritual guides of the day; and the teaching and methods of these writers appear in solution in Rolle's own writings. Rolle quotes, for a mediæval writer, singularly little, owing probably to his manner of life, cut off from books,⁵ and this makes it difficult to assess the influence of particular writers upon him. But while all the evidence points to his having had only a second-hand acquaintance with the continental mystics, his inheritance of a deposit of mystical thought is quite clear.

1. He was the son of William Rolle. Whittaker's *Richmond* has no reference to a "Rolle" family; G. H. Plantagenet-Harrison, in his *History of Yorkshire*, has one or two references to a Richard de Rollos and a William de Rollos in the reigns of Stephen and John, but nothing later.

2. See p. 19.

3. Le Neve, *Fasti*, iii, 303.

4. *Incendium*, p. 178.

5. Perhaps also to his dissatisfaction with the writings of others on the subject of contemplation, as he tells us in the *Incendium*, cap. 32, p. 237.

Of Rolle's life and wanderings, from the age of nineteen till his death in 1349, little is known, except that his first patron was Sir John Dalton, whose son had been Rolle's friend at Oxford, and that he passed the last years of his life in a cell near the Cistercian Priory of Hampole, or Hanepole. The present village, a few miles north of Doncaster, lies at the bottom of a decidedly marked valley, along the southern ridge of which passes the road from Doncaster to Wakefield. The by-road to Hampole turns off at right angles, and crosses the valley and the little stream, by which the old Priory probably stood. The front gable of the village school has some old stones built into it, so that the peak of the roof now terminates in the empty niche of a saint, and a rather squat and solid stone cross: a probably mistaken local tradition regards these as having been taken from the site of Rolle's cell. Two stones now standing in a neighbouring cottage garden,¹—the fretted pendant of groined roof, and a monk's head and shoulders which once formed a corbel, are much more probably remains of the Priory itself, of which even the exact site is now unknown. Here Rolle passed the last years of his life, and here probably he wrote the *Incendium*; but of his intermediate wanderings nothing is at present known. Some passages in the *Incendium* seem to shew that he was dependent, at different times, on different people for maintenance, but not that he was continuously wandering, depending on the chance alms of those with whom he came in contact. "It is no shame to a hermit to change his cell," he says, "though I am not speaking of wandering monks, who are a scandal to hermits."² He defends himself vigorously in this book from the charge of vagabondage, put forward by those who regarded the recluse life as a perfectly normal social vocation. To understand the point of view of his "detractores," it should

1. There is also a heap of miscellaneous stones and mouldings in the Post Office garden,—collected when an old malt-house, into which they had been built, was pulled down. 2. See p. 183*n*.

be remembered how common a feature of the fourteenth century was the recluse life,¹ and that its apparent and distinctive sign was fixity of abode. The would-be recluse, before he could retire to his cell, obtained permission from the bishop, after shewing that he possessed means of sustenance; but when this permission had been granted, and the recluse had been solemnly enclosed by the bishop or his delegate, only danger to life itself, or the claim of canonical obedience, could withdraw the recluse from his cell. Instances have even been known when the recluse preferred to be burned to death, rather than leave it. The hermit similarly, though not always enclosed, was bound to one place of abode. Had Rolle chosen either of these vocations, and been formally "inclusus" by the bishop, he would have occupied a normal place in the social fabric, and been untroubled by "detractores": but he seems, from what he tells us, to have held himself free to leave whatever shelter he had found, when a prospect of greater solitude offered itself, or the demands of his own spirit urged him on. "For I withdrew from many, not because they fed me coarsely and hardly, but because our manner of life accorded not, or for another reasonable cause. For I dare to say, with blessed Job, that fools have despised me, and when I withdrew from them, they slandered me. Nevertheless they shall blush when they see me, these who said that I would not dwell anywhere, except where I might be fed delicately."²

The *Incendium Amoris* itself is a rambling biography, an explanation of "how Richard Hampole came to the Fire of Love": or, as one MS. puts it, perhaps copying his own note: "How I came to the Fire of Love."³ The purpose of the book is described in the Prologue:

"I have wondered more than I can tell," Rolle says, "when first I felt my heart grow warm, and glow with no imaginary, but with a real, and as it were, sensible flame. So

1. See Miss R. M. Clay's *Hermits and Anchorites of England*, Methuen, 1913. 2. *Incendium*, cap. 11, p. 175. 3. (*l*) See p. 17.

I marvelled, when that flame first burst forth in my soul, and was in unwonted peace, through the unexpectedness of this abundance. . . . For I had not reckoned that such a warmth could happen to any man in this exile, . . . for even as a finger, placed in the fire, is clothed with heat which it feels, so the soul, kindled in this manner, as I have told, is sensible of the most real heat; but now fiercer and greater, now less, even as the frailty of the flesh allows. . . . Therefore I offer this book to the sight,—not of philosophers and wise men of the world, nor of great theologians wrapped in endless questionings, but of the simple and untaught, those who seek to love God rather than to know many things. For not by disputing, but by doing is He known, and by loving. . . . Wherefore, because here I incite all to love, and I shall seek to explain the burning and supernatural feeling of love, let this book be allotted the title of *Fire of Love*.”

The book itself takes forty-two chapters to accomplish this end, and is quite without the structural plan, so dear to mediæval writers, and in particular to S. Bonaventura. It is, indeed, rather a series of discourses on subjects connected with the life of the solitary than a complete didactic scheme. In the Prologue, Rolle states his own desire to prove to others the joy of the life he had himself chosen; the next eleven chapters are devoted to considerations preliminary to the undertaking of such a life; then come two chapters¹ where he passes from advice to autobiography and which contain most of the passages quoted by the Hampole nuns in the office. The remaining chapters are mainly a series of discourses strung together with no particular plan, on the various difficulties of the contemplative life, interspersed with prayers and meditations which are the Latin counterpart of Rolle's better known Middle English work. There is a great deal of repetition, and a good deal of fairly commonplace mediæval sermon: but

1. *Incendium*, cap. 12 and cap. 15.

the exuberant zeal of the writer saves the most rambling passages and most frequently repeated thoughts from dullness. The main idea of the book is simple: that the solitary finds Him whom he loves with a rapture and completeness which no other life affords, and that the devotion offered by such a life to the "Omnipotens Amator" is supreme, both as to merit and reward. "Magna est uita heremitica, si magnifice agatur."

The *Incendium* has one or two references to social life in the fourteenth century. "One woman reproved me," Rolle says, "because, wishing to correct their madness in luxury and daintiness of dress, I gazed too long at their outrageous adornments; and she said to me that I ought not to look upon women enough even to know whether they wore horned headdresses or not; and methought she fairly answered me."¹ He refers in another place to the awe-inspiring size of their "horned headdresses"²; "the women of our time are much to be blamed, for they have invented new ornaments for their heads and bodies, and clothed themselves in them with such great and marvellous vanity, that they strike terror and amazement into beholders. Not only do they, contrary to the word of the Apostle, go in gold and braided hair, serving pride and wantonness, but they even transgress human decency and the nature given by God, and wear upon their heads horned head-

1. See p. 178.

2. Mr. G. G. Coulton supplies me with John Lidgate's reference to women's "hornes," in the poem printed in Wright and Halliwell's *Reliquiae Antiquae*, I, 79, which has the suggestive refrain:

"Beaute will shewe, thogh hornes were away."

One verse may be quoted:

"Grettest of vertues is humylte,
As Salamon seith, sonne of sapyence,
Most was accepted onto the Deyte.
Taketh heed herof, gevethe to his wordes credence,
How Maria, whiche hadde a premynence
Above all women, in Bedlem whan she lay,
At Crystys birth no cloth of gret dispense,
She wered a koverchief, hornes were cast away."

J. H. Wylie, (*Henry IV*, iv, p. 327) gives a list of brasses and effigies illustrating the horned head-dress; but his statement that Queen Anne of Bohemia brought "the horned or mitred cap" with her to England in 1381, seems to post-date the arrival of the fashion in England. (*Ibid.*, iii, p. 452.) Rolle died 1349.

dresses, broad, and of a terrifying size, made of hair not growing on their own heads.¹ And some of them, seeking either to hide their ugliness or increase their fairness, paint and whiten their faces with the dyes of deceitfulness. Both men and women in their vanity wear clothes carved in the newest mode, and they pay no heed to what befits nature, but to what the last rumour of vanity has introduced, at the devil's prompting."² In another place, Rolle denounces those who counsel women to their hurt, and "lest they be offended, either will not or dare not forbid those things which it pleases women to use, although they are evil."

In another place Rolle describes the men whom he considers most sure of future damnation,—perpetratores, a word translated a century later by Misyn as purchesours, i.e. probably those who bought to sell for exorbitant profits, offending against the mediæval doctrine of the just price. "Among those forsooth who are bound by the vices of this world, of none of them is there, as it seems to me, so little hope of salvation as of those whom the common people call 'perpetratores.' For when they have spent all their youth and strength in obtaining other men's goods, lawfully or unlawfully, in their old age they rest, as it were, in peace, and keep what they have unlawfully obtained. But because their conscience is afraid, and their sin bears witness of damnation, they merely cease from unjust exactions, but fear not to use the goods of others as if they were their own."³ "The great also, and rich men of the world, who burn ever with hungry desire to acquire other men's possessions, and grow into greatness and worldly power by their wealth of goods, and buy for a small price what will be (according to worldly wealth) of great value; or who, when they are given office by the king or nobles, take many presents undeservedly and unearned,"⁴—let such

1. S. Bernardin of Siena has a parallel passage, rebuking the "woman who comes to Mass, her head not only a mass of flowers, but of gold and precious stones, of false hair and dye." He denounces also women's "tails" or trains, addressing an offender as "O domina caudata"; and using the word as a synonym for luxury, he reiterates that the poor are oppressed by the "dura incompassione caudarum." cf. Baroness von Hügel, *Saint Bernardine of Siena*, p. 150. 2. p. 266. 3. p. 231. 4. p. 231.

men hear what blessed Job said, etc. ; and he launches forth into texts against them.

Rolle has as hard things to say against the current piety and current learning of his time, as against worldliness and current fashions. "The wicked however, behave altogether foolishly toward God. . . . They enter the church, fill the walls, beat their breasts, give forth deep sighs,—but feigned ones clearly, because they reach the eyes of men, not the ears of God. For when they are in church in body, they are distracted in mind with those worldly goods which they either have, or desire to have : and thus their heart is far from God. . . . Many give bread to the poor, and perhaps clothes to the shivering, but when their alms are done in mortal sin or for vain glory, or assuredly from those things which they have unjustly gained, they are in nowise pleasing to the Redeemer, but provoke the Judge to wrath. . . . For the devil owns many whom we reckon good. For he has men who are almsgivers, chaste, humble, that is, men who confess themselves sinners, wear sackcloth and afflict themselves with penances. . . . For he has some zealous in labour and instant in preaching : but there is no doubt that he completely lacks those who are burning in love, and ever thirsty to love God, and uneager for vanity."¹ In other passages Rolle complains of the insincerity and half-heartedness of almsgivers, and the impossibility of friendship between the poor and the rich. "For some men have so loved one another, that they have almost believed that there was but one soul in them both. But he that is poor in worldly goods, though he were rich in mind, is far distant from such a love. For if a man must ever take, and can rarely or never give, strange indeed would it be if he had a friend whom he could trust in all things. Yet it would profit a rich man to choose a holy poor man, even for his special friend ; for Christ said, 'Make to yourselves friends, that is, holy poor men, who are the friends of God.

1. pp. 149, 150.

For I have found certain rich men who gave food to those whom they reckoned holy poor men : but they would not give clothes or other necessities, thinking they had done enough if they had given food : and thus they make to themselves but half-hearted friends ; or they care no more for the friendship of holy poor men, than of evil ; and of all that they might give, they keep aught that is precious for themselves or their children,—and what is worse, oft-times the poor seem but a burden to the rich.”¹ In this passage Rolle is obviously reminiscent, and the frequency with which he reiterates that friendship is impossible between a rich man and a poor is perhaps an allusion to some difficulty between himself and his first patron, Sir John Dalton.

Beside the passage in the Prologue, where Rolle dedicates his book “not to philosophers, nor wise men of this world, nor great theologians wrapped about in endless questionings,” he inveighs in other places against those who have, as he phrases it, “*inter sapientes insanos seminauerunt superbiam.*” He quotes the saying of S. Anselm, that “an old wife is often more expert in the love of God than the theologian,” “because he studies for vanity that he may be known and appear glorious, or that he may acquire pensions and honours : and he deserves to be esteemed no wise man, but a fool.”² “Philosophers have toiled much, and yet have passed away without fruit : and many who seemed Christians have done great things and shewn wonders, and not merited salvation : for not to doers, but to God’s lovers belongs the abundance of the heavenly crown.”³ In another place Rolle complains of the inadequacy of the descriptions of these doctors as compared with his own experience, and the remark is evidence that he had not derived his theories from any one special mystical writer : “Thus it happens to this manner of lover, what I have never found or seen expressed in any doctor’s

1. p. 197 2. p. 160. 3. p. 194.

writings : namely, that song shall burst from his lips, and his prayers shall be sung with spiritual symphony and heavenly sweetness.”¹ The humble contemplative, he says, shall be taught with wisdom from on high : “ But those taught by wisdom acquired, not inshed, and those swollen with folded arguments will disdain him, saying : ‘ Where did he learn ? Under what doctor did he sit ? ’ For they do not admit that the lovers of eternity are taught by a doctor from within to speak more eloquently than they themselves, who have learned from men, and studied all the time for empty honours² ; but these fools, who are puffed up with acquired learning, not filled with the divine wisdom, judge falsely of themselves.”³

The main purpose of the *Incendium* is the vindication of the life of the hermit or solitary, not merely from the charge of laziness and vagabondage, but of inferiority to the busy and active prelate, or the devout monk. To do this, Rolle quotes the example of John the Baptist, “ prince of hermits after Christ,” and of the north-country saint, Cuthbert, and the Breton Maglorius. “ The hermit life therefore is great, if it be greatly led. For blessed Maglorius also, who was full of miracles and rejoiced from his childhood in angelic visitations, was made archbishop according to the prophecy of blessed Sampson his predecessor. And when he was warned by an angel who visited him, he put away the archbishopric, and chose the hermit life, and at the end of his life he was (divinely) warned of his death. So also blessed Cuthbert passed from a bishopric to the life of an anker. If therefore men like these acted thus to obtain greater merit, what thinking man shall dare to set any state in the church about the life of the solitary ? ”

Rolle’s reference to S. Cuthbert is natural, for S. Cuthbert, whose shrine he might well have visited at Durham, was among the most popular of north-country saints. The source of his reference to S. Maglorius is less obvious, for the Breton saint can scarcely have been much venerated in

1. p. 237. 2. p. 240. 3. p. 243.

England. Rolle's words read as if he were acquainted with the *Vita S. Maglorii*,¹ which relates how Maglorius, bishop of Dol, was bidden by an angel "that he might seek to offer ceaseless praises to the Lord, to go forth from hence, and set forth to lead a solitary life in some desert spot."² and how Maglorius then left his flock and "betook himself to the desert, where he attained great holiness, and shone with many miracles."³ Actually, however, he seems to have founded a monastery at Sark, and not, as Rolle implies, to have lived as an anker or hermit. These two saints are the only authorities quoted in the *Incendium*,—an exceptional feature in a mediæval theological treatise.

Although Rolle's estimate of the worthiness of the solitary life is more mediæval than modern, his estimate of the asceticism which should accompany it is more modern than mediæval. His advice accords much more closely with the dicta of modern psychologists than with that usually given by mediæval religious to those whom they were instructing. "For he who would sing in the divine love, or rejoice and burn in song, let him dwell in solitude, and not in too great abstinence, nor let him give himself to any superfluity. For it would be better for him in ignorance to exceed the mean in a small matter, while he doeth it with a good will to support nature, than to begin to flag with too much fasting, and through bodily weakness have not strength enough to sing. For the true lover of Christ, and him taught by Christ, doth with as great zeal beware of having too much, as of having too little."⁴ The passage is similar in thought to that in the Prologue, where Rolle says that the "outpouring of eternal love came not to him when resting at ease, nor when he was too fatigued in body through walking, or even when he was beyond measure occupied with worldly cares," and many other passages.

1. Printed *Bollandist Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. 24, x, 782. 2. *Ibid.*, p. 784.

3. *Ibid.*, x, 779, and the Old French poem which describes the ceremony of translation, printed in Claude Chastellain, *Martyrol. Univ.*, p. 805.

4. p. 175.

In chapter 13 Rolle speaks of the relative worthiness of life in a community, and as a solitary. "There are some," he says, "who rank life in a community far higher than the life of a hermit, and say that we ought all to hasten to join a community if we wish to reach the highest perfection. With these men we have little cause of dispute, because they merely praise that life which they desire to lead, or at any rate with which they have some acquaintance. For there is a life which no man living in the flesh can know, except him to whom it is granted by God to lead it, and surely no man may judge rightly of this matter, while he as yet knows not what it is and in what manner it is led. Most surely I know, that if they learned to know it, they would praise it more than other men. Others err more greatly, for they cease not to blame and slander the hermit life, and say, 'Woe to him who is alone.' They do not explain 'alone' as meaning 'without God,' but as 'without comrade': for that man is alone, with whom God is not. . . . For to him who chooses the hermit life for God's sake, and leads it rightly: to him it shall be, not 'Woe' but 'Winsome virtue.' Moreover, as far as I could read in the Scriptures, I found and learnt that the highest love of Christ consists in three things: in heat, and song, and sweetness¹; and these three, I found in my own mind, cannot long remain without great quiet."² "In the wilderness indeed they are more clearly present: for there the beloved speaks to the heart, even as a bashful lover, who does not caress his love before all men, nor does he kiss her as his friend, but only in the common manner, as a stranger."

(3) ROLLE AND OTHER MYSTICS.

The question of the influence upon Rolle of other mystics cannot be satisfactorily answered by a study of the *Incen-*

1. Rolle always reverts to these words, "feruor," "canor," "dulcor," in describing his own experience; cf. pp. 151, 9; 174, 5; 180, 2, 5, 9; 196; 296. He describes the order of the "canor" and "dulcor" differently on pp. 185, 189. 2. p. 185,

dium, but depends rather on the solution of the problem of the authorship of several minor tracts, sometimes ascribed to Rolle. In some of these,¹ passages are quoted from the Fathers: S. Gregory, S. Augustine, S. Bernard, etc., by name: but such quotations occur only in the tracts whose authorship is uncertain, and not in Rolle's more important Latin works: the *Comment on the Canticles*, the *De amore Dei contra amatores mundi*, the *Regula viuendi*, etc. In the *Incendium* itself the only verbal quotations are from the Vulgate, although passages occur which suggest an acquaintance with the thought of the pseudo-Dionysius, the Victorines, and S. Bernard. All these passages might have been derived from an indirect acquaintance with these writers, or merely from participation in the current theological thought of the day.

S. BONAVENTURA.

Horstman, in his *Richard Rolle and his followers*, suggests that the influence chiefly traceable in Rolle's writings is that of S. Bonaventura. Since Franciscan influence was strong during Rolle's stay at Oxford, this is not improbable; and Miss Hope Allen, who has studied the works of Richard Rolle as a whole, considers that some of them contain a good deal of the teaching of Bonaventura in solution. The influence is, however, not at all apparent in the *Incendium Amoris*, although a very interesting confusion has occurred between the Prologue of the *Incendium*, and Bonaventura's *De Triplici Via*.² It is clear, however, that here a passage from Rolle's work was incorporated by a scribe in that of the Italian mystic (*vide infra*). Though Horstman does not mention this confusion, it is possible that, without having worked the matter out, he believed Rolle to have borrowed the passage from Bonaventura, and to have founded the *Incendium* upon it; and that this accounts for the predominant place which he assigns to Bonaventura among those who influenced Rolle. This however is surmise, as Horstman gives no indication

1. e.g., the *Judica me Deus*, the *Nouem Uirtutes*.

2. *Opera S. Bonaventurae*, Quaracchi, viii, 3.

in his writings that he was acquainted with the confusion between the *Incendium* and the *De Triplici Via*.

Comparing the *Incendium* with Bonaventura's writings on the same subject, I can find no resemblance. Rolle's rambling and diffuse style is as far removed as possible from Bonaventura's carefulness of design, and lucidity of expression. Bonaventura's *De Triplici Via*, which through the above-named confusion was till recently known also as the *Incendium Amoris*, deals, like Rolle's with the stages of the contemplative life: but the lack of design in Rolle's work contrasts strongly with Bonaventura's divisions and sub-divisions: his three degrees of prayer, six degrees of perfection, seven steps respectively towards the attainment of peace, truth and love, etc. The rhythm also of Rolle's long, involved sentences differs greatly from Bonaventura's careful pauses, and balanced antitheses. In their respective outlook, Rolle and Bonaventura differ even more widely: while Rolle revolted against the scholastic method of his day, Bonaventura accepted it fully and expressed himself by its means.¹ Thus while Rolle in the *Incendium* speaks of the three stages in his own spiritual life, he uses the terms "feruor," "canor," "dulcor," which are drawn from his own experience, and can only roughly be equated with those used by other mystics. They certainly do not correspond with the three stages of "purgation," "illumination," and "union" of the normal mediæval scheme. Bonaventura, however, adopted this traditional division in the *De Triplici Via*, and elaborated it. Thus in neither style nor thought can the *Incendium* be said to have derived much from Bonaventura.

There is, however, an interesting confusion between Rolle's *Incendium Amoris* and Bonaventura's *De Triplici Via*, due to the occurrence of the last part of Rolle's Prologue ("Euigilans uero animam meam . . . iscius libri titulus incendium amoris sorciatur"), in a few late Bonaventura MSS. Rolle's Prologue is an autobiographical note, describing his own mystical experience, and

1. Cf. W. A. Hollenberg, *Studien zu Bonaventura*, p. 99.

the class of reader for whom he designs the book: it is found in all the complete MSS. of his *Incendium*, both in the long and short forms of the text.¹ Miss Allen pointed out, in her *Authorship of the Prick of Conscience*,² that this passage was printed in the older editions of the *De Triplici Via* (the so-called *Incendium Amoris*), but there seems no doubt that it is the work of the English, and not the Italian mystic. It is indeed, so obviously foreign to Bonaventura in matter and style, that some of his early critical editors, perceiving this, rejected the whole work as spurious. The Quaracchi editors, however, discriminated between the Prologue and the body of the work, and while rejecting the Prologue as of unknown authorship, print the so-called *Incendium Amoris* among the genuine works of Bonaventura, under its old title of *De Triplici Via*. Their conclusion was based on the discovery that only three out of the 299 Bonaventura MSS. contain the passage,³ while one of these shews the transition stage at which it became incorporated, and has the Prologue at the end, instead of the beginning of the work.⁴

An Indulgence, written on the fly-leaf of a Cambridge MS. of Rolle's *Incendium*,⁵ suggests the council of Constance as the possible medium by which the fusion between Rolle and Bonaventura occurred, and there is no chronological difficulty in accepting this theory, since the Quaracchi editors class all the three "contaminated" MSS. as belonging to the fifteenth century.⁶ The indulgence

1. Internal evidence also shews that the Prologue is Rolle's work. For the dominant thoughts of the Prologue, that in contemplation an actual heat is felt by the body, cf. p. 174, *canentis cors, igne exurit*, p. 189, *flagrante sensibiliter calore*; that bodily fatigue hinders contemplation, cf. p. 174, *inestimabile est hoc hominem percipere in corpore*, p. 175, *caro . . . nimia fame aut itinere impediatur*, p. 185, *si homo multum stet . . . corpus fatigatur et sic impeditur anima*, p. 236, *corruptibilitas corporis animam aggravans*; that God is known by lovers and doers, not by disputants and philosophers, cf. p. 160, *procuremus potius ut nos accendat amor Christi*, p. 194, *non facientibus sed diligentibus est habundancia celestis corone*. 2. p. 133.

3. *Opera S. Bonaventurae*, Quaracchi, viii, pp. xiv and xix.

4. Munich Univ. Lib., codex 344.

5. (*g*), f. 1; printed, p. 8; see *English Historical Review*, xxix, 99-101, *Richard Rolle and S. Bonaventura*.

6. Bonaventura died 1274; Rolle, 1349; the three MSS. are circa 1450.

states that Thomas (Spofforth), bishop of Hereford, the archbishop of York, and certain other bishops whose names enable the indulgence to be dated at 1452-7, have granted an indulgence of forty days to the devout reader of a chapter of the *Incendium*, at the request of Christopher Braystones, a monk of S. Mary's, York. A memorandum in a different fifteenth century hand follows, by a monk of the Carthusian house of Beauvale in Nottinghamshire, asking the prayers of the reader for Christopher Braystones, once monk of S. Mary's, York, then chaplain to Spofforth, and finally monk at Beauvale, to which house he gave the book. The curious fact that Spofforth's name takes precedence of the archbishop of York's in the indulgence suggests that his own chaplain, Christopher "Braystones" or "Brestons," may himself have copied the Indulgence into the book which he so highly esteemed, and the different forms of the chaplain's name also suggest this. Braystones is a little hamlet near S. Bees, Cumberland, and while Brestons would be the form which the Carthusian monk of Beauvale would write, Braystones would be the Northern dialectal form, natural to Christopher himself. Thomas Spofforth, his patron, was abbot of the Benedictine abbey of S. Mary's at York from 1405 till 1421,¹ and bishop of Hereford from 1442 till his resignation in 1448. In 1415 he was one of the additional ambassadors sent by Henry V to the council of Constance,² where he remained for two years, and was

1. *Monasticon*, iii, 539.

2. *Ibid.*, iii, 568. Spofforth's companions were the bishops of Bath and Wells, Salisbury and S. Davids, the earl of Warwick, the abbot of Westminster and prior of Worcester (chosen as delegates in Convocation, 1414, Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ii, 302), and Fitz Hugh the chamberlain, two knights and a notary, the abbot of Fountains, seven professors, three doctors, and as many 'uiri spectabiles,' all of these being, like Spofforth, appointed by Henry, on or before 21 Oct. 1414. (*Monasticon*, iii, 568, *Foedera*, ix., 169, orig. edit.). They arrived at Constance 21 Jan. 1415. (Finke, *Forschungen und Quellen zur Geschichte des Konstanzer Konzils*, p. 249.) For the chapter at Petershausen, see also Trithemius, *Opera Pia et Spiritualia*, Mainz, 1604, pp. 1026 ff.; V. d. Hardt, *Acta Concilii Constantiensis*, vol. i; and Richental's account (edited by M. R. Buck, Stuttgart, 1882), p. 101. Modern writers on the Council of Constance (e.g., Finke and Noel Valois, *La France et le grand schisme d'Occident*) do not deal with the chapter of Petershausen.

one of the presidents of that provincial chapter held at Petershausen in 1417, which played so important a part in German Benedictine reform. It is possible that the monk¹ who was afterwards his chaplain attended him as part of his retinue, and was one of the 373 Benedictine monks mentioned as present at that chapter²; and that Spofforth and the chapter of Petershausen were the means of communication by which Rolle's *Incendium Amoris* travelled to the Continent; at any rate, an admirer of the *Incendium* had considerable intercourse with an assembly which must have included some interested in Continental mystics. Braystones' interest in the *Incendium* is indicated, not only by his application for the grant of the Indulgence to its readers, but by his passage from the Benedictines to the strictly contemplative Carthusian order. While his own admiration for Rolle is clear, that of Spofforth his patron is implied not merely by the association between the two men, but also by other Rolle MSS. These shew that Rolle was popular at York, and among those in touch with S. Mary's, while Spofforth was abbot there.³ As ambassador at Constance, Spofforth seems to have taken no prominent part in the political labour of the council: the real field of his activities was the adjacent abbey of Petershausen.⁴ The chapter held there was ordered by the fathers of Constance themselves, to promote the internal

1. I have not been able to discover any reference to Brestons himself, either in the episcopal registers at York, or in the *Cartulary* of S. Mary's, a transcript of which was very kindly lent me by Dr. Farrer. The village of Braystones was, however, situated near S. Bees, a cell of S. Mary's Abbey, and the *Cartulary* of S. Bees is still preserved as *Harl. MS.*, 434. The name of 'Ricardus de Braystans' occurs five times as witness to charters conferring land on the priory of S. Bees (ff. 114, 115, 117), and once as the trustee to whom a certain 'Michaelus Stayngref' transferred all his land in Cumberland, in trust for the abbot of S. Mary's, York. One of the charters is dated 1389, and from the connexion of Richard Braystones with S. Bees and S. Mary's, it seems likely that it was his son who became the monk of S. Mary's, and obtained the grant of the indulgence for the *Incendium*.

2. Lenfant, *Concile de Constance*, ii, 442.

3. See p. 74.

4. Lenfant, *Concile de Constance*, ii, 442. V. d. Hardt, *Acta Con. Constantiensis*, Tom. i, 1095.

revival of the Benedictine order,¹ and Spofforth was called upon to help in reforms similar to, though wider than those which had been carried out in his own abbey in 1390. In that year a commission had been issued by the archbishop of York to inquire into and reform the observance of the Benedictine rule at S. Mary's²: the commission had sat under the presidency of the abbot and the archbishop's two commissioners, the senior of whom was John Newton, a student of Rolle, and the owner of *Emman. MS.* 35=(j) of his *Incendium*. The reforms were mainly liturgical, and were embodied in the *Consuetudinarium* of S. Mary's.³ There is evidence that the *Incendium* was in use as a monastic text-book at S. Mary's during the period following the reforms, since Braystones was a monk there, and another important *Incendium* manuscript⁴ belonged to "Iohannes Hanton, monachus Ebor."⁵ It seems therefore possible that the *Incendium* became known to the continental Benedictines through Spofforth, when they met to draw up a scheme of internal reform similar to, though wider than, the one at S. Mary's; if the monk Braystones, afterwards his chaplain, accompanied Spofforth to Constance, either man may have been the means by which the *Incendium* disturbed the history of Bonaventura's work.⁶

1. *Concile de Constance*, ii, 444.

2. See *Life of John Newton*, p. 75.

3. *S. John's Coll., Camb., MS.*, D. 27, see p. 75.

4. (r).

5. See p. 31.

6. Spofforth's presence at Constance, together with FitzHugh and Richard Clifford, is interesting as regards a possible connexion between Newton and Sion Abbey (see p. 73). Spofforth was well acquainted with Newton, and he was here fellow-ambassador with FitzHugh, the first patron of Sion, and Clifford, afterwards bishop of London, and mentioned in the Sion *Martiloge* more than once as a benefactor. Political interest at the council of Constance centred in the healing of the schism, and the efforts of European rulers to help or hinder it; but to contemporaries and ecclesiastics, the canonisation of S. Bridget of Sweden loomed very large, as a topic of interest. (*Vide* Lenfant and Richental.) To FitzHugh, who in 1414 had been working for six years to found a Brigittine monastery in England, the canonisation must have been of special interest. Gascoign, the author of the *Liber Veritatum*, a friend of Fishbourn and Robert Bell, the first and second confessors general at Sion, (see p. 129), twice mentions the presence of Spofforth at Constance: "Et predicti Johannes Huss et Jeronimus de Praga fuerunt combusti ut haeretici in Constancia, tempore consilii Constanciensis, ut dixit mihi doctori Gascoigne bonae memoriae

S. BERNARD.

In one MS.¹ of the *Incendium*, the last chapter is imperfect, and is joined without break or division to part of the ninth of S. Bernard's *Sermones in Cantica*.² S. Bernard's work is then copied to the middle of Sermon xxxii, where the MS. ends imperfectly.³ The *Incendium* is often found in the MSS. joined, without any break, to Rolle's own *Comments on the Canticles*; but the confusion here is merely scribal. Nevertheless, Rolle in the *Incendium* borrows many of the thoughts and phrases of his own *Comments on the Canticles*, and in both his *Incendium* and *Canticles* there is a good deal of resemblance to S. Bernard, though no direct quotation from him. In Rolle's *Comments on the Canticles* (verse 1, "Oleum effusum nomen tuum,") there is no suggestion that he was acquainted with the thought which is uppermost in S. Bernard's sermon on the same verse,—that the soul should be a reservoir for grace, storing it till in its abundance it overflowed to others, and not a canal, too ready to pass on what it had not as yet itself thoroughly gained⁴; and there is no more direct resemblance between the comments of the two men on verse 2. The interpretation given by them to the same text is generally different,—very often because Rolle wrote for the solitary, S. Bernard for his monks of Clairvaux. Thus Rolle reiterates again and again the duty of joining in the angelic songs of praise; but it was while he sat alone in

episcopus quondam Herefordensis, dominus Thomas Spofforth, sepultus Eboraci, qui hoc vidit Constanciae in tempore predicti concilii generalis Constanciae." And "Predictus papa Alexander quintus fuit bacallarius sacrae Theologiae Oxoniae et doctor Theologiae Parisiis, ut ipse papa in concilio Pisano dixit domino Thomae Spofforth, abbati ecclesiae beatissimae Mariae Eboraci, qui dominus Thomas fuit etiam in concilio Constanciensi." (*Loci e Libro Veritatum*, edit. T. Rogers, pp. 10, 161.) Nearly all the chief figures connected with the foundation of Sion,—FitzHugh, Fishbourn, Alnwick, archbishop Arundel and bishop Clifford, Gascoign, etc., were north country people.

1. (*d.*), f. 340.

2. Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, clxxxiii, vol. ii, 815.

3. Cf. also *Vesp. MS.*, E. 1, f. 96, where the scribe has inserted in the middle of Rolle's *Postilla super Cantica*, Vers. 1, the hymn "Ihesu dulcis memoria,"—then ascribed to S. Bernard.

4. Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, clxxxiii, vol. ii, 859.

the chapel that he heard, as it were, the sound of chanting, "quasi tinnitus," above him¹; S. Bernard wrote "Associate yourselves, then with the sweet singers of heaven to chant in common the praises of God,"² but he was thinking of the common recitation of the office,—which Rolle found not a help, but a hindrance to such song. I have been unable to find any passage in S. Bernard's works which is obviously quoted in the *Incendium*, though Rolle was probably acquainted with them, at least at second hand.

HUGH OF S. VICTOR.

There is considerable resemblance between Rolle's style and thought in the *Incendium*, and in the mystical works of Hugh of S. Victor. Rolle uses the word "arrha"³ (pledge), to describe the earthly joy of the soul in relation to the heavenly, in a way that suggests that he was acquainted with Hugh of S. Victor's *De arrha animae*. In Hugh's 'Soliloquium' between man and his soul, the soul asks how it can love that which it cannot see or know, and is told that "Sponsum habes, sed nescis. Pulcherrimus est omnium, sed faciem eius non vidisti: . . . si adhuc scire potes qualis ille sit, qui te diligit, considera saltem arrham, quam dedit⁴; . . . vere ille est dilectus tuus qui visitat te, sed venit invisibilis, venit occultus, venit incomprehensibilis. Venit ut tangat te, non ut videatur a te; venit ut admoneatur te, non ut comprehendatur a te; venit non ut totum infundat se, sed ut gustandum praebeat se. . . . Et hoc est quod maxime ad arrham desponsationis tuae pertinet, quod ille qui in futuro se tibi videndum, et perpetuo possidendum dabit, nunc aliquando (utquam dulcis sit agnoscas) se tibi ad gustandum praebet.⁵ "Dilige illum, dilige te propter illum, dilige dona illius propter illum. Dilige illum ut fruaris illo, dilige te quod diligeres ab illo. Dilige in donis illius, quod data sunt ab

1. *Incendium*, cap. 15, p. 189.

2. S. J. Eales, *Works of S. Bernard*, p. 36.

3. *Incendium*, p. 259.

4. Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, clxxvi, 955.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 955.

illo. Illum tibi, et te illi dilige, dona illius ab illo tibi, propter te. Haec pura et casta dilectio est, nihil habeas sordidum, nihil amarum, nihil transitorium, decora castitate, jucunda dulcedine, stabili aeternitate.”¹ The rhythm and vocabulary in this and other passages very much suggest Rolle, and Rolle’s thought is in many places so similar, as to suggest he was much influenced by this work. In cap. 29 he uses “arra” to express the sweetness granted to contemplatives while still on earth: “Anima autem relinquens stulticiam iniqui amoris uiam arte uite ingreditur, in qua *arra* dulcedinis superne uite raptim gustatur.” In cap. 37 he explains that “iscius modi raptus magnus est et mirabilis; excellit namque, ut arbitror, omnes acciones uite, quia quedam pregustacio estimatur suauitatis eterne (p. 256). This is similar to S. Hugh’s “Venit (dilectus) non ut totum infundat se, sed ut gustandum praebeat se.” Rolle perhaps also refers to Hugh of S. Victor’s sentence “Non est solitarius, cum quo est Deus,”² in his words “Dicunt ‘Ue soli,’ non exponentes solum ‘sine Deo,’ sed ‘sine socio’; ille enim solus est, cum quo Deus non est.”³

S. ANSELM.

Part of a letter of S. Anselm of Canterbury has, by a very early scribal error, been incorporated in those extracts from the *Incendium* which so often occur in connexion with the short form of the text. The letter begins⁴:

“Anselmus, archiepiscopus, amico et filio suo Roberto, et sororibus et filiabus suis dilectissimis Seit, Edit, et Hydit, Luverim, Virgit, Godit, salutem et benedictionem Dei et suam, si quid valet,” “Poscit vestra cara mihi dilectio, filiae carissimae, ut aliquam vobis scribam admonitionem quae vos doceat et accendat ad bene vivendum, quamvis vobiscum habeatis dilectum filium nostrum Robertum, cui Deus inspiravit, ut vestri curam secundum

1. *Patrol. Lat.*, clxxvi, 955.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 954.

3. *Incendium*, p. 180.

4. Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, clix, 167. Epistola cxxxiii.

Deum habeat, et vos quotidie, qualiter vivere debeatis, verbo et exemplo doceat." A passage in the middle of the letter describes how every good or bad action proceeds from the will, and this passage, beginning "Omnis actio laudabilis," is found, unmarked, and embedded in Rolle's work, in all the MSS. which contain this set of extracts from the *Incendium*. I believe, however, that the confusion was not due to Rolle himself, but to the scribe who produced the series of extracts and the short form of the text, and who was perhaps one of the Hampole nuns. (*Vide infra*, p. 89.) This letter of Anselm to the recluses is one which might have been found in the Hampole library, and been thus accessible to Rolle himself. It is copied in another northern MS.,¹ the fly-leaves of which are formed of documents relating to property in the county of York: and among the names found in these is "Robertus de Wyclef, rector ecclesie de Ruddeby,"—at one time, apparently, an owner of the MS. This Robert de Wyclef or Wiclif is found several times in close connexion with John Newton, treasurer at York, and owner of an abridged text of the *Incendium* at a very early date.² The extract from the letter here also begins "Omnis actio laudabilis," but is continued for several lines farther than when it is found in connexion with the short text of the *Incendium*. The MS. itself contains other works of Rolle, though not the *Incendium*, which adds somewhat to the evidence that the earliest copyists of Rolle found the epistle of Anselm in close connexion with his work,—perhaps copied by himself for reference.

PSEUDO-DIONYSIUS.

There is not much trace in the *Incendium* of the influence of the mystical writings of the pseudo-Dionysius, or only of second-hand influence. John the Scot and Hugh of S.

1. *Camb. Univ. Lib. MS.*, *Ff.* 1, 14, f. 183.

2. His name occurs several times in the registers of archbishops Arundel and Scrope: and John Newton was appointed co-guardian with him, of a young ward of Sir John Deepden (cf. *Testamenta Eboracensia*, i, 298, Surtees Soc.); *Reg. Arundel*, at York, ff. 36 *et seq.*

Victor had translated the *De Mystica Theologia* of the latter into Latin, and Grossetête himself had written a translation and commentary on the same work, of which the commentary at least was original; but the fact that he had done so seems to shew that the earlier translation of Hugh of S. Victor was not very generally known. It is doubtful whether the works of Dionysius obtained a first-hand influence in England much before their translation into English by an unknown fifteenth century scribe.¹ S. Bonaventura frequently quoted Dionysius, and it is probable that Rolle obtained what knowledge he had of Dionysius from him and similar writers. Rolle refers occasionally to successive orders of angels, but rather, probably, in accordance with current mediæval theology than with direct reference to the *Celestial Hierarchy* of Dionysius. There is no reference in the *Incendium* to the "negative method" of contemplation, which is such a prominent feature in the teaching of Dionysius, and which is recommended by Bonaventura in the *De Triplici Via*, cap. 3. "Sed alia (via) est eminentior," he says, "scilicet secundum *viam negationis*, quoniam, ut dicit Dionysius, 'affirmationes incompactae sunt, negationes verae,' licet enim minus videantur dicere, plus dicunt."² There is nothing so philosophical as this in the *Incendium*.

Thus, as regards Rolle's sources, it is difficult to prove that he was directly influenced by any particular school of mysticism, although the thought and language of the *Incendium* approach more nearly to Hugh of S. Victor's works, and especially the *Soliloquium de Arrha Animae*, than to either those of S. Bonaventura, S. Bernard or Dionysius. Such influence as these latter had upon him

1. *Camb. Univ. Lib. MS.*, Kk. 6, 26, contains an English translation of the *De Mystica Theologia*, and the *Little Pistle of Privy Counsel* and the *Little Pistle on Prayer*. These latter tracts are deeply influenced by Dionysius, and their teaching is very far removed from Rolle's. (Cf. also *Harl. MSS.* 2373, 959; *Bibl. Reg.* 17, C. 26; *Univ. Coll.*, Oxford, 14, and *Mysticism in English Literature*, C. F. E. Spurgeon, p. 160; *The Cell of Self-knowledge*, E. Gardner, p. 75, and *The Cloud of Unknowing*, E. Underhill, p. 7.)

2. *De Caelesti Hierarchia*, c. 2, §3, and cf. *De mystica Theologia*, c. 1-5.

was probably due to their position as the classics of contemporary mystical theology.

(4) RELATION OF ROLLE'S *Incendium* WITH HIS *Comment on the Canticles* (*Postillae super Canticum Canticorum*).

There are in England¹ 26 complete, or almost complete manuscripts of the *Incendium Amoris*, and five which contain merely selections, or a single chapter. The 26 MSS. include two forms of the text, one long, the other short, and there is great confusion, especially in the case of the short texts, between the *Incendium* and Rolle's comment on the *Song of Songs*. Rolle himself probably left this tract, like most of his other Latin works, without a title. It is headed in (r), *Postillae super canticum canticorum*,² and consists of a discourse on the first two verses of the *Songs of Songs*,—not, like that of S. Bernard, of successive sermons on a great part of the whole book. It is quite distinct from Rolle's comments on the six Old Testament canticles, which follow and form part of his Latin *Commentary on the Psalms*.³ The comment on the *Song of Songs* is divided into five sections,

1. "Suspirantis anime"—
2. "Quia meliora"—
3. "Oleum effusum"—
4. "Adolescentule"—
5. "Curremus in odorem"—

and MSS. of the short text are usually found to contain one or more of these sections, together with certain extracts from the *Incendium*, which are found in the long, but not in the short form of the text. These selected passages, called afterwards S, are almost invariably :

1. Paris, *Bibl. Nat. MS.*, 15, 700, ff. 40b—70, has the long form of the text of the *Incendium*.

2. Horstman, ii, xxxvii, calls the work *Postillae eiusdem super Cantica*, v, 1-2.

3. (r), f. 1, Incipit, "Magna spiritualis iocunditas." The comment on the six O. Test. canticles (*Song of Moses*, *Song of Deborah*, etc.) follows here, and in *Magd. Coll.*, Oxford, MS. 115. Tanner (*Bibliotheca Brit.*, iii, 374, note 3) states wrongly that *Magd. Coll. MS. 115* contains Rolle's *Comment on the Canticles*, meaning his tract on the first two verses of the *Song of Songs*.

"Omnis accio laudabilis—uoluntate Dei" = *Epistola Anselmi*.¹

"Si quis sancte aut iuste uiuat" = *Incendium*, cap. 12.

"Cum infeliciter florerem" = *Incendium*, cap. 15.

"Ex magno amoris incendio—gaudebunt" = a short paragraph from the *Incendium*.

The incipits and explicits to these passages, and to the short text of the *Incendium*, shew great confusion. (j) includes

Section 3. "Oleum effusum"	} = <i>Comment on the Canticles</i> .
"Adolescentule"	
"Curremus"	

"Omnis accio laudabilis" = *Epistola Anselmi*.

and the given passages from the *Incendium* under the explicit "Explicit oleum effusum secundum Hampoll"; while (g) gives exactly the same passages, in the same order, with no incipit or explicit, and (p) describes them: "Hic incipit Oleum effusum nomen tuum Ricardi—." (l) gives the full *Comment on the Canticles* separately, and the other passages under the heading "Explicit quomodo perueni ad incendium amoris." The long text of the *Incendium* then follows, with "Amen. secundum Ricardum heremitam," as explicit. (o) gives sections 3, 4, 5 of the *Comment on the Canticles*, and the usual passages, ending "Explicit liber qui dicitur Incendium Amoris." (s) gives the whole *Comment on the Canticles* separately, then the short text of the *Incendium*: and ends "Explicit liber de incendio amoris et incipit quomodo perueni ad incendium amoris," with the usual "Omnis accio" and *Incendium* passages following. (t) gives nearly the whole *Comment on the Canticles*, followed by the usual passages, under the heading "Incipit tractatus super canticum canticorum." Thus the numerous MSS. which give these passages in connexion

1. See p. 57. *Camb. Univ. Lib. MS.*, ff. 1, 14, f. 183, gives the beginning of the letter, "Amico et filio karissimo R.," (Roberto), to "intra mentem admittimus." The letter is here given as Anselm's; and the MS. contains other tracts of Rolle's, though not the *Comment on the Canticles* or the *Incendium*.

with all or part of the *Comment on the Canticles* sometimes include these *Incendium* passages as part of the *Canticles*, sometimes the *Canticles* as part of the *Incendium*.

Two MSS. include the *Incendium* as part of a larger scheme in Rolle's work¹:

- (l) ff. 102b, 103, label: classifies Rolle's
Comment on the Canticles as Lib. 1.
De amore Dei contra amatores mundi as Lib. 2.
Incendium Amoris as Lib. 3.
- (x) classifies Rolle's
Regula uiuendi as Lib. 1.
De amore Dei contra amatores mundi as Lib. 2.
Incendium Amoris as Lib. 3.
Melum contemplatiuorum as Lib. 4.

But the arrangement here is probably merely that of the scribe, and implies no intrinsic connexion. There seems no doubt that Rolle originally wrote the *Comment on the Canticles* and the *Incendium* as separate works, and that the existent MS. confusion between them is merely scribal, though of very early origin.

Analysis of the manuscript evidence seems to show that some very early copyist of the *Comment on the Canticles* proceeded to copy a few passages from the *Incendium*, the two most important of which were chapters 12 and 15, the first chapters in the book where Rolle writes his own autobiography, in the first person. The scribe then probably decided to copy the portions of the book which are not autobiographical, but contain his teaching on the contemplative life; and in making the abridgment, he (or she) naturally omitted chapters 12 and 15, which had been copied before. The incipits and explicits of later scribes show that they were unable to deal with the confusion thus created between the *Postillae super Canticum Canticorum*, the selected passages S, and the short text of the *Incendium*;

1. See pp. 18, 32. (x), flyleaf, calls the four tracts "Quoddam opus solempne uenerabilis heremite Ricardi Hampul."

and as a result S was sometimes copied as a separate work, even in MSS. containing the long text of the *Incendium*.¹

- (5) EVIDENCE OF *Emmanuel College MS.* 35=(j), AS TO THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE LONG AND SHORT TEXTS OF THE *Incendium Amoris*, AND LIFE OF ITS OWNER, JOHN NEWTON.

The most important MS. evidence as to the authenticity of the long text is that of (j). The book contains the last half of Rolle's *Comment on the Canticles*, three other tracts of Rolle's,² then the short text of the *Incendium*, in a very confused order, and then some other tracts of S. Augustine, S. Bonaventura, and Rolle. The end of the *Incendium* is followed by a note "Hic correctus per librum quem sanctus Ricardus de H. propria manu scripsit,"³ and the same hand has most carefully copied into the margin, or on interpolated sheets, all those passages of the long text which are omitted in the short text; and in two cases, *i.e.* of the two chapters included in the passages usually found in connexion with the *Comment on the Canticles*, as in this MS., the direction is given, "require cap. duodecim in tractatu qui dicitur Oleum effusum," etc. The long text was thus completely restored "from the book which Saint Richard of Hampole wrote with his own hand," but as the confused order of the text made the book still very difficult to read, a table of chapter headings⁴ was copied on f. 59, prefaced

1. The early printed editions of Rolle's Latin works are obviously printed from a manuscript containing only the selected passages, S, of the *Incendium*. See p. xxi.

2. See pp. 13, 14.

3. See p. 14.

4. It is unlikely that these chapter headings are Rolle's own work, since they are only found in two out of the fifteen MSS. of the long text, and since they are obviously summaries of the contents of the chapters, written afterwards, and not a scheme prepared beforehand. Rolle's other Latin treatises also, which are similar in subject and construction to the *Incendium*, have no chapter headings or formal plan (*e.g.* The *De Amore Dei contra amatores mundi*, the *Melum Contemplatiuorum* and the *Comment on the Canticles*, which are often found in the MSS. in close connexion with the *Incendium*.) Rolle's *Emendacio Uite*, on the other hand, has chapter headings, and several MSS. use this fact to distinguish it from his other works, by giving it the title of *The Twelve Chapters*, cf. (a), (x).

by the heading "Tabula huius libri additur per magistrum Iohannem de Neuton." Newton probably compiled the tabula¹ himself as a help to the emendation of his own short text. He probably began the emendation by compiling the table on loose paper, or parchment, and having compared the two texts with its help and copied in the missing portions, copied the table itself into his own manuscript, leaving the loose table in "the book in Rolle's own hand," to become the source from which two other long text manuscripts copied it.²

The John Newton who was thus the first to compare the two texts of the *Incendium* was treasurer of York Cathedral and a great book-collector of the late fourteenth century: he died at York in 1414. His biography can be traced from the compotus rolls of Peterhouse, Cambridge, the episcopal registers at Ely, and the archiepiscopal registers at York.³ He was born, according to the letters dimissory⁴ by which he was ordained, in the diocese, and probably the city, of York, and though his parentage⁵ cannot with certainty be proved, he was probably the son or grandson of a substantial York mercer,

1. Newton bequeathed to his old college, Peterhouse, "libros Senecae et Epistolas eiusdem in uno volumine, tabulas eiusdem in quaternis": *Testamenta Eboracensia*, i, 364.

2. (n) and (f). See pp. 7, 20, 232n.

3. There are also printed references to him in one or two publications of the Surtees Society, and a very few in the *Calendar of Patent Rolls*.

4. *Reg. Arundel*, at Ely, f. 125b; acolyte, "oriundus in dioc. Ebor." subdeacon, "per dimissoriam Arch. Ebor. ciuitatis sue originis."

5. The earliest existent wills at the Probate Registry, York, date from 1389; but though Newton's father might have lived till after this date, there is no sufficiently early will at the York Registry (see *Wills in the York Registry, 1389-1514*, York. Arch. Assoc.), nor is there among the wills of the Dean and Chapter at York (1321-1636). Neither the *Patent* nor *Close Rolls*, nor Whittaker's *Richmondshire*, nor Plantagenet Harrison's *History of Yorkshire*, nor Glover's *Visitations*, nor the publications of the Surtees Society nor the Yorkshire Archaeological Association, supply any clue to a Yorkshire family of Newton's, from whom he can have been descended. There is nothing to connect John Newton with the interesting sub-sheriff of York, named John Newton, in 1355 (see *Coucher Book of Selby*, ii, 44, York. Arch. Assoc.). This John Newton was probably the John Newton who was deputy to Thomas Rokeby, sheriff of York, in 1348; cf. *C. C. R.*, 1346-9, p. 557; and *C. P. R.*, 1348-50, p. 525.

John Newton, one of the founders of the Mercer's Gild at York. This "Gild of Blessed Mary"¹ was founded about the middle of the fourteenth century, and was the owner of the still existent "Merchant's Hall": later on, it became the "Gild of the Holy Trinity." Though the relationship of the two John Newton's is not proved, the fact that the later John Newton received so much ecclesiastical promotion at York renders it likely that the two were related. The name Newton is common at York, but it is unlikely that there were two separate families of so great municipal importance as those to which both men belonged.

Newton, the treasurer and student of Rolle, studied law at Cambridge, and became acquainted there with the two men who were to be his patrons in after life, and successive archbishops of York, Richard Scrope and Thomas Arundel. In 1377 Scrope was bishop Arundel's official at Ely,² and he was succeeded in that office by Newton on 20 September, 1379.³ The connexion between Newton, Scrope and Arundel remained close throughout their lives, for when Arundel was translated from Ely to York, he made Newton his official⁴ and vicar

1. I am indebted for information on this subject to Dr. Maud Sellers, who is editing the compotus rolls of the Gild for the Surtees Society. The first roll contains the account for the building of the Merchants' Hall, and has several references to John Newton in connexion with John Freeboys, the first master of the Gild. (John Newton and John Freeboys paid the "masons in Fossegate 16s. 8d." in 1357-8; Newton also a "clerk, for the festivals, 22d." and the "carpenter, for his barge, 4d."; he went to London in 1358, probably on business connected with the obtaining of the Gild Charter, and the Gild paid him 40s. for expenses.) There are also references to William and Richard Newton, possibly his sons. There are references also to names found later in connexion with John Newton, the treasurer, at York, such as William Feriby, John Thornton, Richard Thoresby, John Rudby and Thomas Thurkill. For the latter, cf. *C. P. R.*, 1399-1401, p. 131, and 1405-8, p. 345.

2. *Reg. Arundel*, at Ely, f. 119.

3. *Ibid.*, f. 29b.

4. Cf. Makower, *Constit. Hist. and Constitution of the Church of England*, pp. 207, 462, 383. The bishop's official was a permanent officer of the diocese, whose special duty was to represent the bishop as judge in the episcopal court; the vicar general, on the other hand, was only appointed in the bishop's absence from his diocese, and was then his deputy in all matters of administration. Occasionally two vicars general or two officials were appointed in one diocese, while in the archiepiscopal sees the

general there; and when he was again translated to Canterbury, he was succeeded at York, after a short interval, by Scrope, who also made Newton vicar general on several occasions.

When appointed official at Ely, John Newton was qualified for his legal duties by the degree of LL.D. He had also been ordained acolyte and subdeacon by Arundel at Ely, 1378,¹ deacon by Arundel at London in 1379,² and priest by Arundel again at Ely a few weeks later.³ He remained Arundel's official till the translation of the latter to York in 1388, and was immediately appointed the official of his successor at Ely, bishop John Fordham⁴; the register contains correspondence between them on various matters.⁵

Newton had meanwhile, however, been appointed to the mastership⁶ of Peterhouse, Cambridge, during the episcopate of Arundel: the bishop of Ely had the right to appoint as master of this college one of the two nominees of the fellows. Newton's appointment is not mentioned in the Ely register, but one of the earliest existent compotus rolls of Peterhouse speaks of the payment to him of forty shillings, his stipend

offices of vicar general and judge in the archiepiscopal court were sometimes united. When a vicar general was appointed, the bishop's official was the most usual person to be selected, although the treasurer of the Cathedral, or the bishop's chancellor, or any other ecclesiastic of sufficient standing, might receive the appointment. The duties of the official, as stated in the commission for the appointment of John Newton at Ely, were to act as the bishop's representative in the consistory court, to decide disputes arising under the bishop's jurisdiction, punish offences against the canon law, allow the probate of will and grant administration to executors, convene synods of the clergy, and "perform all that pertains to such an office whether by law or custom . . . even without special mandate"; see *Reg. Arundel*, f. 29b.

1. *Reg. Arundel*, f. 125b, *Accoliti*. "Magister Iohannes Newton, legum doctor, Rector ecclesie de Ratlesden Norwic. dioc. (=Ratlesden, Suf., nr. Stowmarket, in the gift of the bishop of Ely), "sed oriundus in dioc. Ebor. per litteram dimissoriam domini archiepiscopi Ebor. ad ordines concessam."

2. *Ibid.*, f. 127, 18 Feb. 1379.

3. *Ibid.*, f. 127b, 10 March 1379.

4. *Reg. Fordham*, Ely, f. 3b, 4 Oct. 1388. See also the extracts from the Ely Registers by E. R. Crosby, in the *Ely Diocesan Remembrancer*.

5. *Reg. Fordham*, ff. 11b, 14b.

6. See Dr. T. A. Walker's *History of Peterhouse*, pp. 23, 24, 64, 198, etc.

as master for the year beginning 29 Sept., 1380.¹ During his mastership, 1380-97, Newton must have spent much of his time at Ely up to the year 1390, after which date he lived at York, occupied with the duties of official, vicar general and treasurer of the cathedral, but the college reckons him among the earliest of its benefactors. He sent a parcel of books from York to Cambridge two years before his death,² and bequeathed eighteen volumes to it in his will.³ The college still possesses a manuscript catalogue of its library in 1418,⁴ and this mentions three books⁵ given by John Newton, all of which are at present in the library, and two of which occur among the eighteen volumes bequeathed in Newton's will. The detailed references in the latter to imperfect or unfinished manuscripts, and to "tables of contents" of the books, shew Newton's knowledge of his own library and his scholarly care for texts; and the Peterhouse compotus roll for the first year of his mastership has an interesting entry "for paper and parchment for rolls and *quaterni*," among the usual housekeeping accounts.⁶

1. The roll, kindly shown me by Dr. Walker, is headed "Compotus magistri Willelmi de Okham administrantis sub magistro Iohanne Newton magistro domus sancti Petri Cantabrigie . . . a festo sancti Micheli archangeli anno domini M^o CCC^o LXXX^o usque in uigiliam sancti Michelis anno reuoluto," and the reference to the pension is "Item de xls. solutis magistro domus pro pensione sua totuis anni." This conflicts with the statement of Le Neve, *Fasti*, iii, 668, that Newton was admitted 3 March 1382.

2. Peterhouse, *Compotus roll*, 1411-12: "Et Iohanni Currou pro libris caricatis de Eboraco usque collegium vis. viiid."

3. Surtees Soc. *Test. Ebor.*, i, 364.

4. Peterhouse MS. P. 1: "Registrum factum in uigilia Natalis domini nostri Ihesu Christi, Anno ab incarnatione eiusdem 1418 de omnibus libris pertinencibus domui S Petri Cantabr. tam catenatis in librario et diuisis inter socios quam aliis quarum quidem exponentur uendicioni et aliqui reponuntur in cistis domus predicti."

5. MS. 36, Bartholus super Digestum Inforciatum ex dono M. Iohannis Newton thesaurarii ecclesie cathedralis Ebor.

MS. 162, Declamaciones Senece cum commento. Ex dono M. Ioh. Newton.

MS. 167, Cassiodorii Historia Tripartita. Liber domus S. Petri Cantebr. ex dono M. Ioh. Newton, thesaurarii ecclesie b. Petri Ebor. quondam magistri collegii S. Petri Cantebr.

6. *Comp. roll*, 1380-1: "In primis computat de xd. soluto pro papiro et pergameno pro rotulis et quaternis."

The Ely register shews that Newton remained Fordham's official till 30 June, 1389, but that another doctor of laws, Thomas Hetherset, had been appointed by 2 May, 1390.¹ Before this, however, Newton had become the official of his former patron, archbishop Arundel, at York, and there is no evidence that he ever visited Cambridge again, though he remained master of Peterhouse till 1397. Before November, 1390, he received a canonry at York, and on 6 November, 1390, he was appointed archbishop Arundel's vicar general² "nobis in remotis agentibus." Arundel's register for the subsequent period runs in his name,³ and is mainly a record of institutions and inductions, interspersed with a few wills, records of the reception of vows of chastity, and confirmations of elections to the headships of religious houses. Nearly every entry from 1390 to 1393 begins with Newton's name. A letter from archbishop Arundel, written "in hospicio nostro apud Westmonasterium," 23 September, 1391, addresses him as "Officiali nostro ac nobis in remotis agentibus uicario generali in spiritualibus," and shews that at the date the office of vicar general was conferred at York as a sort of enlargement of the office of official (which Newton still held), in the archbishop's prolonged absences. This particular letter quotes another received from king Richard, and in accordance with the royal request enjoins

1. *Reg. Fordham*, f. 17b.

2. *Reg. Arundel*, f 23: "Deputacio M. Iohannis Neutonis uicarii generalis. Thomas etc. dilecto filio magistro Iohanni Newton, legum doctori, canonico ecclesie nostre cathedralis Ebor., salutem gratiam et benedicionem. De uestris circumspeccione prouida et puritate consciencie ac fidelitate plenius considerentes uos, nobis in remotis agentibus, nostrum in spiritualibus uicarium constituimus generalem, cum coercicionis canonice potestate, saluis nobis collacionibus quoscunque beneficiorum, officiorum, cantuariarum et porcionum ad collacionem seu ordinacionem nostram spectantibus. In cuius rerum testimonium, sigillum nostrum fecimus hiis apponi. Datum in manerium nostro de Scroby, sexto die mensis Nouembris anno domini M^o CCC^o nonagesimo et nostre translacionis tercio." (Throughout the register the vicar general's name is spelt Neuton, Newton or Neweton indifferently.)

3. *Ibid.*, ff. 23-41b.

on Newton that special prayer be made, with devout processions and the singing of litanies, for the lord king, and the peace and safety of the realm. Almost a year after Newton's appointment as vicar general, the register records a second and wider commission¹ to the vicariate, conferring on him now "a special power of presentation to benefices" which had been expressly reserved in the first commission. After Newton had been made treasurer of the cathedral, there are a few entries in the registers of the conferment of the vicariate on other York ecclesiastics, generally for a specified time, "while the Archbishop journeys to London to attend the parliament of the lord king," etc.: but none of these commissions confer such wide powers as those which were granted to Newton in 1392. Newton acted as Arundel's vicar general from November, 1390, till April, 1396, with the exception of a few months, April-June, 1393, when William Cawood, the bishop's chancellor, was appointed concurrently,² and made the entries in the register in his own name. On March 30, 1393, Newton had been installed as

1. *Reg. Arundel*, f. 28: "Specialis commissio facta M. Iohanni Newton de generali uicariatu. Thomas, permissione diuina Ebor. Archiepiscopus, Anglie primas et apostolice sedis legatus, dilecto filio magistro Iohanni Newton, legum doctore, canonico ecclesie nostre Cathedralis Ebor., officiali nostro, salutem gratiam et benedictionem; de uestris fidelitate circumspectione et industria plenius considerantes, uos nobis extra nostram diocesim agentibus, constituimus nostrum uicarium generalem, Dantes et committentes uobis specialem potestatem presentationes ad beneficia cum cura uel sine cura nostri diocesis qualitercunque uacancia, uel etiam uacantura nomine nostro recipiendi, et super uacacionibus eorundem et aliis articulis in hac parte consuetis inquiri [?] faciendi, personas idoneas ad ea admittendi, et rectores instituendi canonice in eisdem, electiones quas in monasteriis nobis subditis fieri contigerit canonice confirmandi, uel etiam infirmandi, et omnia alia et singula faciendi et exercendi que ad huiusmodi uicarii officium pertinent, cum cohercicionis canonice potestate. Datum in hospicio nostro iuxta Westmonasterium XX^o die mensis Septembris anno domini M^o CCC^o nonagesimo primo. Et nostre translacionis quarto."

2. *Ibid.*, f. 44b: "Thomas permissione diuina etc. Dilecto filio magistro Willelmo Cawood, in legibus licenciato, ac ecclesie nostre Collegiate Ripon. Canonico, et cancellario nostro, salutem, gratiam et benedictionem. Dantes et concedentes uobis specialem potestatem (as in Newton's *Second* commission, till) cum cohercicione canonice potestatis. Per hanc tamen commissionem nolumus nec intendimus commissionem et potestatem magistro Iohanni Newton pro huius uicariatus officio exercendo per nobis alias factam et concessam, quamdiu infra nostram diocesim fuit, in aliquo reuocare," etc. Dated, Westminster, 20 June 1393.

treasurer of the cathedral,¹ in succession to Thomas Clifford, whose will was entered in the register,² and proved before Newton as treasurer 25 June, 1393.

Newton's successor as vicar general, April 6, 1396, was John Bottlesham³ (afterwards bishop of Rochester), who, curiously enough, was also for a short time his successor as master of Peterhouse, Cambridge: the two men had probably been acquainted there and at Ely. Like Cawood, Bottlesham was, at the time of his appointment, the bishop's chancellor, not, like Newton, his official.⁴ The entries in the few remaining pages of Arundel's register⁵ run in Bottlesham's name: Arundel was translated to Canterbury in 1396, and Bottlesham resigned his register and seat into the hands of the cathedral chapter.

There is no evidence that Newton held office under the next archbishop, whose tenure of the see was short. Archbishop Waldby's register was kept by William Cawood,⁶ his vicar general; and Newton's name does not occur in it.

In April, 1397, Newton resigned his mastership of Peterhouse,⁷ which he had continued to hold, though resident at

1. Le Neve, *Fasti*, iii, 161; *C. P. R.*, 1391-6, p. 248; and *C. P. R.*, 1396-9, p. 200. "Ratification of the estate of Master John Newton as treasurer of the Cathedral Church of S. Peter, York, and prebendary of Wilton, therein annexed to the treasurership, and as prebendary of North Muskham in the collegiate church of Southwelle in the diocese of York."

2. *Test. Ebor.*, i, 116, prints the will from another source.

3. *Reg. Arundel*, f. 50. Commission in the less full form of Newton's first appointment to the vicariate.

4. *Reg. Arundel*, f. 59. Letter of Arundel to Bottlesham, "cancellario nostro."

5. *Ibid.*, ff. 52-62b.

6. *Reg. Waldby*, f. 1: "Registrum uenerabilis uiri magistri Willelmi Cawood in legibus licenciati, reuerendi in Christo patris et domini, domini Roberti . . . in remotis agentibus agentem in spiritualibus uicarii generalis xxvto die mensis martii anno domini M^o CCC^o nonagesimo septimo et Translacionis dicti reuerendi patris inceptum." See also p. 98.

7. The Peterhouse *Compotus Roll* for Nov. 1 1396—Nov. 1 1397 is headed, "Compotus magistri Willelmi Cauendish administrantis sub magistro Iohanne Newton magistro domus sancti Petri Cantebriggie"; and among the "Expense minute" occurs an entry concerning the master's resignation: "Item de uis. uiuid. datis magistro Thome Grenewood per ii uices confidenti diuersa instrumenta super resignacione magistri domus, ac aliis agendis in collegio. Item pro xxd. solutis pro expensis iii sociorum cum notario equitancium usque Downam pro habenda confirmacione super resignacionem magistri, una

York: Bottlesham succeeded him after a month or two, and during his three years' mastership he too lived at York, and the two men acted as vicars general of archbishop Scrope, whom they had known in earlier days at Ely. The section of Scrope's register devoted to institutions and inductions is headed "Register of the vicars-general . . . of . . . Richard, archbishop of York,"¹ etc., and is dated 21 June, 1398. The first entry, dated 13 June, 1398, is the record of the commission of the vicariate to John Newton, treasurer, and John Bottlesham, chancellor, and is in the less full form of Newton's first vicariate under Arundel. Three entries follow in Bottlesham's name, and then a second and fuller commission of the vicariate to Newton, conferring on him special powers of presiding at the bishop's consistory court, though not the power of collating to benefices. The duty of presiding over the bishop's court in most dioceses belonged expressly to his official: so that these special powers were not expressly mentioned when Newton, as Arundel's official, was appointed vicar general in his absence; as he was now merely treasurer of the cathedral, they were granted to him in a special commission.²

cum expensis factis sequente die usque Huntingdon." *Reg. John Fordham*, f. 185, mentions that Fordham appointed Newton's deputy, William Cavendish, to succeed him on April 11 1397; but there is an entry, 27 Aug. 1397, that the fellows of Peterhouse presented to him John "Botkelsham" and William Irby for election to their mastership, and that Bottlesham was appointed (*ibid.*, f. 189).

1. *Reg. Scrope*, f. 156.

2. *Ibid.*, f. 155b: "Ricardus, permissione diuina Uenerabili filio nostro in Christo magistro Iohanni Newton, thesaurario ecclesie nostre Cath. Ebor., legum doctori, salutem gratiam et benedictionem. Quia nos propter uaria et ardua negocia regni Anglie uniuersaliter concernencia a nostra ciuitate et diocesi Ebor. oportet agere in remotis, nos uolentes nostra huiusmodi absencia subditorum nostrorum, in hiis qui habent iurisdictioni spirituali prosequendis, parcere laboribus et expensis, prout ex nostri officii debito conspicimus nos teneri de uestra legalitate, industria ac consciencie puritate plenissime considerentes, uos pro tempore absencie nostre huiusmodi nostrum in spiritualibus uicarium generalem facimus, creamus, constituimus, per presentes dantes et concedentes uobis plenam et liberam potestatem causas et negocia quorumcumque subditorum nostrorum ad cognitionem fori ecclesiastici pertinencias et pertinencia, audiendi, decidendi et terminandi, ipsorumque quorumque sexus utriusque crimina

From the contents of his register, Scrope seems to have appointed a vicar general only in his own absences, which were frequent, though not like that of Arundel, continuous. Several commissions to the vicariate are recorded between 1398 and his death in 1405, the reason usually given for the archbishop's absence after 1399 being that "he is about to travel to London for the holding of the parliament of the lord king, Henry IV." On one or two occasions he appointed Newton vicar general, on others, some other official or cathedral dignitary. The entries in the register are not continuous enough to be a complete record of the inductions, institutions, etc., of these years: and they appear to bear out the heading of the registers as that of the archbishop's vicars general. When the archbishop was present in York, the mandates to induct, etc., ran in his own name, and were recorded in another section of the register.

There are commissions of the vicariate to Newton again on 4 February, 1400,¹ 20 January, 1401,² and 25 May, 1403,³ with two intermediate ones to other men.⁴ In all cases except the last, it is stated that the archbishop is about to travel to London for the holding of parliament, and the entries after each commission are few, and run in the name of the vicar general therein appointed. The entries from Newton's appointment till 7 April, 1404, are in his hand,

excessus et errores corrigendi puniendi et reformandi, personasque idoneas ad beneficia quecumque nostrarum Ciuitatis et Diocesis admittendi, permutaciones auctorizandi, collacionibus beneficiarum quorumcumque ad nostram collacionem spectantibus, qualitercumque nobis specialiter reseruatur. In quorum testimonium uobis litteras nostras has fieri fecimus patentes, sigillo nostro signatas, quamdiu nobis placuerit duraturas." (Dated 30 Aug. 1399.)

1. *Reg. Scrope*, f. 158b: "Die quarta mensis february anno domini supradicto (1400) apud Thorp. Reu. pat. dom. Ricardus arch. antedictus uersus Londoniam ad consilium excellentissimi principis domini Henrici Regis quarti ibidem tenendum, extra suas ciuitatem et diocesim Ebor. transiturus, Uen. uirum m. Iohannem Newton Thes. sue Cath. ecclesie Ebor. legum doctorem suum uicarium prefecit in spiritualibus generalem, in omnibus et pro omnia sicuti quarto folio proximo precedente alias sic uicarius creatus extitit apercius expressatur inscriptis."

2. *Ibid.*, f. 160b. Same formula.

3. *Ibid.*, f. 162b.

4. *Ibid.*, f. 159, to John Southwell, 8 Aug. 1401; and f. 162, to Robert Wolvenden, canon of York, 1 Oct. 1402.

and the register ends abruptly, without the formula of the handing over the seal of office in the chapter, and the "Et sic finit Registrum" of the earlier registers. The unfinished register of the vicar general thus mutely records the sudden and tragic end of the archbishop.

The part played by Newton at York during the troubles that culminated in the hurried execution of archbishop Scrope was probably quiet and uneventful: but he was one of that disaffected body, the cathedral chapter, and the friend and special servant of the archbishop, so that it is not wonderful that from this date he was no longer appointed to sit on special commissions by the Crown,¹ and that his name does not occur in the register of the next archbishop of York,—Henry Bowet.² It is scarcely to be doubted that he sided with his brothers of the chapter in conniving at the pilgrimages to the tomb of the martyred archbishop, which caused such annoyance to Henry IV; and particularly as he was still treasurer of the cathedral, and busy from this time onwards in repairing the fabric of the cathedral. On 29 May, 1409, the chapter ordained that offerings made at the tomb of archbishop Scrope should be devoted to these same repairs,³ so that Newton must have had a direct financial interest in promoting them. After Scrope's death Newton's life seems to have been spent mainly among his books and in his duties as treasurer.⁴ In 1405 Sir John Scrope, brother of the archbishop, made Newton one of his executors;⁵ Skyrlaw, Bishop of Durham, bequeathed him a silver bowl,⁶ and Sir John Deepden his "best ambler."⁷ Newton's literary interests are shewn by two

1. Before Scrope's death, Newton had been appointed to sit on several commissions, mainly incident on the Northern Risings; *C. P. R.*, 13 Sept. 1401, 28 March 1402, and 9 March 1403.

2. This archbishop seems to have been resident, and to have appointed no vicar general; the entries in his register begin, "Henricus, diuina permissione," etc.

3. *York Fabric Rolls*, York. Arch. Assoc., p. 199.

4. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 25, 198; and *C. P. R.*, 1405-8, pp. 482-3.

5. *Test. Ebor.*, i, no. ccxxxix.

6. *Ibid.*, i, no. ccxxv.

7. *Test. Ebor.*, i, ccxvi. Sir John Deepden also left Newton guardian of a young protégé of his, who was to receive some sort of education, and then be sent to London to learn "some trade of fishmonger, grocer, or mercer."

other wills of the period, containing either bequests of books or of the right of purchasing them at his own price.¹ Newton made his own will on 4 May, 1414, and added a codicil on 30 June, the will being proved on 13 July of that year.² Both the will and codicil are very long, and contain lists of bequests of books, vestments, plate and household furniture. After a formal preface, and directions for a funeral as simple as possible, comes a list of 40 books bequeathed to the Chapter Library at York,³ including the works of Isidore, Gregory, Boethius, S. Bernard, etc., and "libros Johannis Howeden, *Ricardi Heremite*, domini Walteri Hilton canonici, Willelmi Remyngton et Hugonis de Institucione Noviciorum, in uno volumine." "Richard the Hermit" is, of course, Richard Rolle: but the description of the book does not fit (*j*), Newton's emended text of the *Incendium*. Nor can it be identified with any work now in the Cathedral Library at York; though it is just possible that Newton was here referring to "the book which Richard H. wrote with his own hand," which he may have had bound up with the works of Hoveden, Hilton, etc. The long bequest of books to Peterhouse, Cambridge, already mentioned, is part of the codicil to the will. Among the smaller bequests of the will

1. "Thomas Percehay of Swynton in Rydale" in 1391 left to him "unum librum vocatum Petrum Blesanz," and "alium librum vocatum Trevet, nondum plene scriptum: . . . et sciendum est quod in volumine libri vocati Petri Blesanz, quam legavi, prefato Magistro Johanni de Neuton, continentur in certis quaternis de Expositione Officii Episcopi, ac commissione Beati Pauli, et Transfiguracione Domini, necnon de Expositione Beati Job, una cum Vita Beati Lazari; quem librum integrum, una cum aliis prenomminatis, volo quod habeat Magister Johannes prenomminatus." The other will is that of John Harwood, advocate of the court of York. He leaves to "Domino meo specialissimo, Magistro Johanni de Neuton, thesaurario," "one silver image, enamelled, and one quire of paper ruled in red according to the letters of the alphabet, called a 'tabyll.'" Also I leave to him the choice of all my books, if he shall wish to buy any, and for a price to be settled at his pleasure. Also I leave to him a certain book of Chronicles which our treasurer himself had bound in white." He also left to his clerk "a green furred gown, of the livery of our treasurer." *Test. Ebor.*, i, 164, 341.

2. *Ibid.*, i, 364; for another late reference to Newton, cf. *Cal. of Papal Registers*, 1404-15, p. 420.

3. *Ibid.*, i, 366: "Do et lego prefato Capitulo in subsidium et relevamen librariae faciendae." The building for the Minster Library had just been begun.

are some to William Waltham, Thomas Haxey,¹ and the justice, Richard Norton,²—all three his executors. The only relations mentioned in the will are his brother, Thomas Newton,³ Joan his wife, and their sons and daughters. These were probably still young, for their names are not given : to his nieces Newton left suitable marriage portions, and “to any son of his brother Thomas who might study law” all his books “tam Juris Civilis quam Canonici.” These in the meanwhile were to be kept by the cathedral chapter in a certain chest, and the books were to revert to them if no son of the said Thomas followed his uncle’s steps in the study of law.

Newton bequeathed to the chapter at York “three silver bowls, with wheels on the base, to maintain three torches before the high altar, together with twelve silver chargers and twelve dishes for the high altar”; the plate of the cathedral had been in his own charge till 1404, when he appointed Thomas Garton sub-treasurer under him.⁴ An inventory, compiled about 1500, “omnium iocalium vasarum, auri et argenti—et librorum, ad ecclesiam Cath. Ebor. pertinencium, in custodia subthesaurarii eiusdem ecclesie,” mentions other gifts of plate, etc., by Newton, not specified in his will.⁵

The *Fabric Rolls* of the Cathedral contain also an interesting reference to the books of Newton, when they

1. *York Fabric Rolls*, p. 199.

2. See p. 98.

3. Perhaps the Thomas Newton, ‘tapeccere’ who received a license to grant a certain messuage in York, held of the king in burgage, to the master and brethren of S. Leonard’s; *C. P. R.*, 1408-13, p. 274.

4. Le Neve, *Fasti*, iii, 161.

5. *York Fabric Rolls*, pp. 213, 217. They include a chalice and patten, given by him to Thomas Garton, by him to Nicholas Keld,—the keeper of the account roll for the cathedral,—and by him to the chapter; “two silver candlesticks, gilded round the base and battlemented at the top,” from the gift of the treasurer; “a large silver gilt cross with the image of Blessed Mary in a tabernacle at the bottom, and a crucifix with Mary and John, supported by four angels in the upper part, weighing eight pounds ten ounces”; two other gilded crucifixes, and “a cross of red jasper adorned with silver gilt, with stones set in a foot of painted wood.” There is also a note that Newton had caused the famous “horn of Ulphius,” one of the greatest treasures of the Chapter, to be mounted with a silver girdle, or rim.

were placed in the newly finished cathedral library. The account roll of Nicholas Keld for 28 December, 1421-2, has an entry: "Johanni Upton pro superscriptura librorum nuper magistri Johannis Neuton thesaurarii istius ecclesiae legatorum librariae, 2s. Thomae Horner de Petergate pro hornyng et nailyng superscriptorum librorum 2s. 6d. Radulpho Lorymer de Conyngstrete pro factura et emendacione xl cathenarum pro eiusdem libris annexis in libraria predicta. 23s. 1d." Newton's books were evidently "horned and nailed" by "Thomas the Horner," and chained by "Ralph the chain-smith," in exactly the manner of the manuscript of the *Incendium* in Hereford cathedral library,¹ *i.e.*, the name of the book was written on a small parchment label, and covered with a thin sheet of transparent horn, nailed probably to the wooden cover of the manuscript. It is interesting to see that none of the forty books left in the will had been lost as yet, because the number of chains correspond; and since the entry does not mention "horns and chains" for any other books, it is likely that Newton's bequest formed in 1421 the bulk of the new library.²

Except for one or two posthumous references in the Patent Rolls, these entries in the *York Fabric Rolls* are the last references to Newton. Throughout his life he had been a scholar and a book-lover, and at his death he left an exceptionally fine library. His death in 1414 dates the short text of the *Incendium* as at any rate prior to that year; and since it is unlikely, from internal evidence, that his manuscript was the original short text, or that he made the emendations as a very old man, this brings the date of the short text well back into the fourteenth century.

Newton's interest in the *Incendium* raises the question of his possible relations with two contemporaries: Christopher Braystones, the monk, who later obtained the

1. (x).

2. See Raine's note, *York Fabric Rolls*, p. 45.

indulgence for the *Incendium*, and Matilda Newton, in 1415 abbess designate of Sion Abbey, Isleworth. In the first case Newton was certainly in touch with S. Mary's Abbey when Spofforth was abbot and Braystones monk there, though there is only direct evidence of his acquaintance with the abbot. One of Newton's first duties on his arrival in York was to hold, as Arundel's commissioner, an inquiry¹ into the condition of S. Mary's Abbey, the results of which are recorded in the *Consuetudinarium* of S. Mary's. Newton's register as vicar general shews that he was in frequent contact with Spofforth later, and especially as presiding² with him and the archdeacon of

1. *S. John's Coll., Camb.; MS. D. 27, f. 1. Prologus.* "Regulares predecessores nostri et patres antiqui constitutiones diuersas tam provide quam utiliter ediderunt, ex quibus alique per temporum successus in dubium reuocate, relique per contrarias consuetudines penitus abrogate, ambiguitatem non modicam dispendium pluribus efferentem et in seruicio diuino uarietatem dampnabiliter introduxerunt. Thomas igitur (Arundel), permissione diuina Ebor. Archiepiscopus, Anglie primas et apostolice sedis legatus, predictis dispendiis occurrere ac animarum pericula precauere cupiens ex officio, ut tenetur, consideransque per commissarios suos ad correcciones Magistros Iohannem Newton, legis ciuilis doctorem, et Thomam Walworth, Bacallarium utriusque iuris ac canonicum ecclesie Cath. s. Petri Ebor. xxxmo die mensis maii anno domini M^o CCC^o nonagesimo, de sciencia et consensu abbatis et totius conuentus, in domo capitulari hora consueta, fratres Iohannem Esingwald, priorem monasterii ac sacre pagine professorem, Ricardum Thornton, Thomam Mauleuerer, Thomam Helmsley seniores, et Iohannem Strensall precentorem, cum consilio et auxilio predicti domini abbatis et confratrum, quos dicti deputati de conuentu uoluerunt euocare, ad dictas ambiguitates elucidare, uarietates in diuino seruicio superinductas superfluis amputatis ad unitatem redigendum, atque nonnulla alia modernis temporibus congruencia de nouo super addiciendum, prout in uisitacione ordinaria reuerendi patris xvmo die eiusdem mensis anno quo supra inter notabiles defectus fuerat compertum, deputauit constituit et efficaciter ordinauit. Ita quod dicti fratres fecerint in promissis circa compositionem noui ordinalis, diuina protegente gracia, stet firmiter et permaneat usque in sempiternum." The remaining 223 folios of the MS. contain directions for the recital of the office, hours, etc., and many folios of counterpoint for the antiphons, etc. There are also lists of masses to be said for other monasteries, and various regulations. The holding of the commission is interesting in connexion with the appointment of Spofforth, abbot of S. Mary's, to help preside over the Benedictine Chapter at Petershausen, 1417, which instituted much wider reforms in the Benedictine Order. See p. 53.

2. *Reg. Arundel* at York, f. 49, 7 March 1394. The presidents of the Convocation were Newton, Thomas Dalby, archdeacon of Richmond, the abbot of S. Mary's, and William Cawood, the archbishop's chancellor. Cf. *Ibid.*, ff. 35b, 39b.

Richmond over synods of the secular and monastic clergy. There is no evidence, however, that he was acquainted with Braystones.

In the second case marginal notes on Newton's manuscript of the *Incendium* shew that it belonged in the sixteenth century to a nun of Sion Abbey; and Newton's identity of surname with the lady who a few months after his death was appointed Abbess of Sion¹ suggests that they were possibly relations, and that Sion obtained the manuscript through its first abbess. I have been unable to find, however, any proof of relationship between John Newton and Matilda; he does not mention her in his will, and though it is not certain that he would in any case have left a bequest to a relative who was, at the time, a Benedictine nun at Barking, other evidence renders it likely that Sion abbey obtained the manuscript through another channel, and leaves the relation of Newton and the abbess unproved. On the other hand, Newton's association with the little group of north country personages² to whom the foundation of Sion was due renders it not impossible that the appointment of abbess should have been given to a relative of his. Newton and Sir Henry FitzHugh,³ through whose prolonged efforts Sion Abbey was founded in 1415, were among the nine commissioners appointed to hear and determine actions concerning the Scotch prisoners after the

1. See p. 100.


2. Such as Langley, bishop of Durham, William Cawood and Richard Norton, all trustees in the charter which was FitzHugh's first attempt to found Sion, (for whom see pp. 70, 98); and J. H. Wylie, *Reign of Henry V.*, i, 19; also *C. P. R.*, 1396-9, p. 334; 1399-1401, pp. 131, 545; 1401-5, p. 213; 1429-36, p. 531.

Also Richard Gascoign, the father of Thomas Gascoign, author of the *Liber Veritatum*, and friend of Thomas Fishbourn and Robert Bell, first confessors general of Sion. Thomas Gascoign was otherwise interested in Sion and left the abbey his books, (see *Henry V.*, p. 17; *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, Introduction; *C. P. R.*, 1401-5, p. 521.)

William Alnwick and Thomas Fishbourn, confessors designate and elect of Sion, were also from the north of England.

3. See p. 96.

battle of Humbledon, or Homildon Hill;¹ they must have been brought into contact when Fitz Hugh was granted the custody of the temporalities at York after the death of Scrope;² they were both in touch with the hospital of S. Leonard's,³ York, to the mastership of which FitzHugh's son succeeded;⁴ and they were both concerned in the repairs to the fabric of York Cathedral.⁵ Newton was, with William Waltham,⁶ the master of S. Leonard's, for some time in charge of this restoration; and when a serious strike occurred among the masons, FitzHugh was one of the commissioners appointed to try the offenders.⁷ An interesting set of regulations⁸ for the masons was issued in consequence by Newton and Waltham, with the authority of the cathedral chapter.

The relations of Newton and FitzHugh are interesting in view of the later ownership of Newton's *Incendium* manuscript, proved by a second set of marginal notes. On f. 22, in the margin of Rolle's *Judica me deus*, part of the text is marked with a line, and the monogram J. S. (), while at the bottom of the page is written in an early sixteenth century hand:

“Sewella Syonita Reclusa.”

The previous folio has two monograms, J. G. and J. S.

1. *C. P. R.*, 1401-5, p. 213. For another matter over which they probably met, owing to Newton's vicariate under Arundel, see *Ibid.*, 1388-92, p. 393; 1391-6, p. 596; 1396-9, p. 13.

2. *Ibid.*, 1405-8, p. 24.

3. *Ibid.*, 1391-6, p. 79; 1399-1401, p. 131; 1405-8, pp. 345, 339.



4. *Ibid.*, 1413-16, p. 283.

5. *York Fabric Rolls*, pp. 25, 198, 199, 200.

6. Newton made William Waltham one of his executors and bequeathed to S. Leonard's “navem meam, vocatam barge.” Another of Newton's executors, Thomas Haxey, the clerical proctor whom Arundel saved in 1397 from the consequences of his attack in parliament on the royal household, was also engaged with Newton and Waltham on the restoration of the cathedral. The chapter appointed him “supervisor of the masons.” See *York Fabric Rolls*, p. 200.

7. *C. P. R.*, 1405-8, pp. 482, 383.

8. *York Fabric Rolls*, p. 198.

( and ) , and one or other of these monograms occurs again on twelve other folios,¹ in the margins of the *Incendium* and Rolle's *De Amore Dei contra Amatores Mundi*. The only other words in this writing are "Sewellam . . ." (renue ?) on folio 174, and a marginal note "contra prelatos," against a passage where Rolle denounces the pride and vanity of ecclesiastics. There are, however, several elaborate "Nota's," sometimes written in the form of a monogram,

A similar monogram is found in (a), a British museum manuscript of the *Incendium*.² This is a long text, and the scribe has drawn a line against the first passage found in the long text, but omitted in the short text, and marked it with a monogram drawn in a similar way to those in the Emmanuel manuscript, but with the three letters combined,

J.G.S. (). The scribe must have been acquainted with

the short text in order to make the annotation: or more probably she had a short text at hand, with which she was comparing the British Museum manuscript. The word "Reclusa" seems to have been here loosely used to denote a member of an enclosed community. Joan Sewell was a Brigittine sister of Henry V's royal abbey of Sion: she was professed in 1500,³ and the *Martiloge* of Sion abbey records that she died on July 2, 1532, and was buried among the other sisters "iuxta gerras,"⁴—near the screen which shut off part of the chapel. The Brigittine was a double order, and the brothers and sisters at Sion had separate libraries: the catalogue of the brothers' library still exists, and has been published by Miss Bateson.⁵

1. See p. 15.

2. (a), f. 18b.



3. See Fr. Adam Hamilton's article on Sr. Joan Sewell, in the *Poor Souls' Friend*, 1907, published by Syon Abbey, Chudleigh, Devon.

4. *Brit. Mus., Addit. MS. 22, 285*, ff. 45 and 191b. See also *infra* Appendix on the "Foundation of Sion Abbey."

5. The Catalogue is contained in *Corpus Christi Coll., Cambridge, MS. 141*. See M. Bateson, *Syon Monastery: Library Catalogue*.

Neither of the *Incendium* manuscripts formed part of it at the time that the catalogue was written : but it is possible that one or both of them formed part of the sisters' library. The catalogue of the brothers' library mentions five Hampole manuscripts, of which one, a great treasure, was described as *Melos Contemplacionis Ricardi Hampole et dicitur propria manu scripsisse librum*. The five Hampole manuscripts included one of Rolle's *Incendium*, but the description in the catalogue does not apply to either of the existent manuscripts in which sister Joan wrote her monogram. The Brigittine rule does not mention a library, but required "that the brethren and sisters should have books necessary for the performance of divine service, and of no other kind, except for learning and study." But both at Sion and at Vadstena, the parent house of the Brigittine order, the clause concerning "books for learning and study" seems to have received a wide interpretation. The convent at Vadstena has been described as "the great centre of Swedish literary activity before the Reformation"¹; at its fall in 1540 it had a fine library, the manuscripts of which are now scattered in various Swedish and Norwegian collections. One of the Swedish brothers sent from Vadstena to aid in the foundation of a Brigittine house in England, is mentioned in the Vadstena Diary as having returned in 1416 from England, where "multa quoque bona reliquit in scriptis et libris"; and the Sion *Martiloge*, and "*Additions*" to the Rule at Sion have several references to the library, and to donors of books. The librarians were responsible for the saying of prayers for the donors of books, and the *Additions* ordered that the bishop should "enquire if there be an inventory or register of books of the library, and how they and other books of study be kept and repaired;" they also enjoined that "Silence after some convenience is to be kept in the library, whyls any suster is there alone in recordyng of her redinge."

1. See *The new Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of religious knowledge, Brigittine Order*.

The originator of the monograms drawn so frequently by sister Joan seems to have been a Carthusian monk of Sheen, James Greenhalgh.¹ It was the Brigittine custom that postulants should pass the year in the noviciate in their own homes, or in some house nearer to the abbey if these were distant, coming at intervals to be instructed by a "sad and discreet sister." It is possible that sister Joan became acquainted with the Carthusian monk, who was a member of "House of Jesus of Bethlehem at Sheen," only a mile away from Sion abbey, during this year of noviciate. He at any rate presented her with a copy of Walter Hilton's *Scala Perfectionis*, in English, from the press of Wynkyn de Worde.² On the margins of the folio he had himself made copious notes, and also frequently written his own monogram, J.G. (). Sister Joan, in imitation, wrote her own monogram, J.S., in the same manner, and also drew an elaborate design, including the monogram, on a nearly blank folio.³ The monogram in the design corresponds exactly with those in the two manuscripts of the *Incendium*. On another folio of the *Scala Perfectionis* sister Joan wrote: "This boke belongyth to me, Jhone Sewell, Syster in Syon, professed in the yere of oure Salvation the thousand and fyve hundreth. In die S. Vitalis martiris XXVIII Aprilis"; and on other folios she apparently combined her own monogram with that of James Greenhalgh who had given her the book, writing J.G.S.,—for James Greenhalgh and "Johanna Sewell." The monogram in the British Museum manuscript (a), is also this combined one, though the order is here J.S.G. (). It is likely that (j), as well as the *Scala Perfectionis*, was given to sister Joan by James Greenhalgh, since she twice wrote her name in it. The British Museum manuscript perhaps belonged to the sisters'

1. See pp. 2, 15.

2. Now in the possession of Lord Aldenham; see *Notes and Queries* (7th Series, xii, p. 145, Aug. 1891). Information kindly supplied by Miss Hope Allen.

3. See frontispiece.

Library, and sister Joan here merely marked the difference in text between the long and the short, comparing it with her own copy. It is interesting that both the mediæval students of the text of the *Incendium* should have been in possession of the same manuscript; and the friendship of the Brigittine sister and the Carthusian monk lends a human interest to the later history of the text.

(6) AUTHORSHIP OF THE SHORT TEXT.

No light is thrown upon the authorship of the short text of the *Incendium* by any headings or notes in the manuscripts themselves, nor does the relative number and dating of the long and short text manuscripts do more than shew that the abridgment is of very early date. Of the 26 known manuscripts 15 are long and 11 short, and only three can be dated with certainty.

(l) is dated May 13, 1411, and is long.

(h) is dated at about 1408, and is short.

(j) dates from before 1412, and contains both.

The evidence as to the relation of the long and short texts from the dating of the manuscripts is thus inconclusive; but the confusion between the short text and Rolle's *Postillae super canticum canticorum*, discussed earlier, shewed that the short text was an abridgment; and analysis of the short text itself both confirms this theory and throws light upon the aim of the scribe who made the abridgment, though, unfortunately, not upon his or her identity.

The earlier part of the short text is so continuous as to conceal the fact that it is an abridgment at all, but this is not the case throughout. There are thirty-nine omitted passages altogether, and throughout the first part of the book the selection was made with such care, that the text reads without any verbal break, and usually without any break in the thought. In some cases even, where the scribe has omitted one of Rolle's characteristic digressions, and picked up the thread

again where he returns to the subject of the contemplative, or solitary, life, the thought in the short text appears more continuous than in the long. But the *Incendium* is a long and rambling work, with a great deal of repetition in the last chapters; and the author of the abridgment became careless in his selection after going through about two-thirds of the manuscript; the omitted passages¹ appear here to have been chosen at random, and at the end of chapters 28 and 29 the scribe in three cases did not finish the sentence he was copying, but writing "etc." turned over a page or two of the manuscript, and began again. This occurs only 3 times out of the 39 omitted passages, but 8 out of the 11 short text MSS. write etc. at these places,² and the other three probably only omitted it in copying. In other places also, where the abridgment becomes merely careless at the end of the book, the scribe began his new paragraph with "Item," where the long text has no such word. The occurrence of these "etc.s" and "items" prove beyond a doubt that the short text is an abridgment, in spite of the delusive continuity of the short text in its earlier portions.

A comparison of the passages omitted in the short text with those retained shews that the scribe who made the abridgment was not interested in Rolle's autobiography or in those passages of exhortation and warning which he might have addressed to seculars, but in the many passages in the book where Rolle speaks of contemplation and the contemplative life. The omitted passages are printed in the text of this edition within heavy brackets, and a study of them, together with the list here following, will confirm this statement.

ANALYSIS OF PASSAGES OMITTED IN THE SHORT TEXT.

The passages omitted in the short text include :

p. 158. [Igitur—relaxacione.] Peccatores

1. See below, p. 187.

2. (h) (i) (j) (o) (s) (t) (u) (y). See pp. 221-3, notes.

The thought of the long text is here more continuous.

pp. 160-3. [Abundancia—cruce] *Nihil enim . . .*

The omitted passage is a digression, a theological discourse on the Trinity. The short text is therefore more continuous.

p. 164. [quippe—caritas] *et soli . . .*

Here the scribe obviously copied the passages relating to contemplation.

pp. 164-70 [Et quidem—laudent] *Risus igitur . . .*

The scribe probably copied the "Risus" passage because Rolle's views on laughter and mirth would strike a mediæval mind as unusual.

pp. 170-1. [Et est actus—proponit] *Dicitur.*

The long text is more continuous.

pp. 172-3 [Hii eciam—lingent] *Animam.*

After this passage, the scribe again copied where Rolle returns to the subject of contemplation.

p. 175. [Comedi—uideam] *Ieiunium.*

This passage is in the first person, and describes Rolle's own practice with regard to eating and drinking; the scribe always omitted such autobiographical passages, till his abridgment at the end became merely careless.

pp. 177-9. [Si quis sancte—corporalem] *Extiterunt.*

This long autobiographical passage is one of those which the scribe had (probably) previously copied,¹ as is also the following :

pp. 187-91. [Cum infeliciter—incitemini] *Deotus.*

pp. 191-2. [ubi est thesaurus—meus] *O mors.*

A first person passage.

pp. 195-6. [Quid enim—deotus] *cor.*

The omission again ends when Rolle returns to the subject of contemplation.

pp. 196-7. [Ego dixi—diuitibus] *Caritas.*

1. See p. 62.

The scribe generally omitted passages where, as here, Rolle was discussing the subject of poverty.

p. 198. [Omnis—triumphantes] Imperfectus.

pp. 198-9. [et ut hoc—subdunt] Si delecteris.

p. 200. [Corruptibilis—quia] dum terrena.

The short text has *Item* dum terrena.

pp. 200-1. [Ac nimirum—diligat] Quippe.

The scribe generally, as here, omitted passages where Rolle speaks of “uerus amor,” and describes more philosophically than is usual with him, that he who “rightly” loves God, loves Him only in any other thing which he loves.

pp. 202-3. [Sed utrum—aperietur] Item quia

The first part of the passage is a digression, probably omitted as such by the scribe.

pp. 203-4. [Unde—oraret] Dubitatur

The scribe omitted Rolle’s list of Scriptural quotations to shew the value of continual prayer. He copied again, when Rolle turned to discuss the favourite mediæval question, of whether the active or contemplative life were more meritorius.

pp. 209-12. [Si sordes—putauit] In omnibus

The omitted passage deals with “uerus amor,” and the “dampnabilitas” of the love of women. Both topics are characteristic of Rolle, but were generally omitted by the scribe.

pp. 212-4. [Si uero—inferre] Seruis

pp. 215-6. [Superbia—attractare] quod immoderata.

pp. 217-8. [Ut quis—tormentorum] Recti.

pp. 219-21. [Humiles—anima mea] Inuenitur.

The sentences following all these three omitted passages deal with contemplation.

pp. 221-2. [Scilicet, intelligite—uacant] Qui enim

p. 223. [Porro qui ad sanctitatem—consistit] Quem uero Porro qui ad sanctitatem, etc.=short text.

pp. 224-5. [Quemadmodum—peruenerint] Dum enim—fugit,
etc. Dum enim=short text.

Another passage on contemplation follows.

pp. 225-9. [Sancti—affluit] Dilecta

This passage is one of those where Rolle indulged in antitheses and “conceits,” which the scribe generally omitted.

pp. 230-2. [Sed querere—descendit] Quoniam

The abridgment now becomes careless: in this case a whole chapter is omitted.

p. 234. [Sustinui—penitenciam] unde plerique. Item plerique=short text.

The passage here omitted is in the first person.

pp. 242-3. [minimum—iubilabo] qui dulcescis. Item dulcescis=
short text.

pp. 243-7. [ut te—gloriatur] Electi autem.

A long first person passage is here omitted.

pp. 257-60. [Insolubili—furientem] Fugiamus.

pp. 261-6. [Amicicia—transeamus] Diuinitatis.

pp. 267-9. [Possumus—contemplari] Non aio fletum.

The scribe again wrote down Rolle's views on weeping and mirth.

p. 270. [sedes—sustinentes] Actus iste.

p. 275. [Uerumptamen—moriāmur] Dulciorem

p. 278. [Oportet—seculorum].

It is not clear why the scribe omitted this last passage of the book,—perhaps because there was not room on the vellum. The last sentence of the short text makes quite a suitable ending. The last passage is also certainly Rolle's: cf. p. 278.

Of these omitted passages:

(1) Six long extracts are autobiographical,¹ or written in the first person: it is only towards the end of the book,

1. See pp. 175, 177, 187, 234, 242, 257.

where the abridgment is careless, that a first person passage is copied.

(2) Two are the only technically theological passages in the book, one a discourse on the Trinity, another on the Passion.¹

(3) Eight include exhortations to poverty and humility, and warnings, "femine uitande sunt," passages which would seem commonplace to a fourteenth-century reader.²

(4) Five are passages on love as friendship between God and the soul,—rather characteristically Rolle, similar to his "What then is love? Love is a life, joining together the lover and the loved," in his *Mending of Life*.³

(5) Eight are digressions to side topics.

It is noticeable that in all except the last part of the short text, its author was primarily interested in Rolle's views on contemplation, and after omitting a passage, picked up the thread again where Rolle uses words such as "Inuenitur enim Christus in corde"; "culmen contemplacionis," etc.

The short text is a much more concise treatise on contemplation than the long text, and as such, much more resembles a normal mediæval work on the subject. It is much nearer in form, for instance, to the works of S. Bonaventura or the Victorines, than the long text, with its many rambling autobiographical digressions. This suggests that the author of the abridgment was a religious, and probably not (like the hermit of Tanfield, one of Rolle's followers) himself a solitary, in which case more of the apologetic, autobiographical passages would probably have been retained. The short text is just such a work as a conventual religious, editing Rolle's "apologia pro uita sua" might have been expected to produce, if he were interested in the teaching itself, but not particularly concerned with the life of the teacher. There is evidence that

1. See pp. 160, 221.

2. See pp. 170, 196, 198, 209, 212, 217, 219, 225, 230.

3. See pp. 195, 200, 243, 257, 261.

Rolle was read at the Benedictine abbey of S. Mary's, York, in the early fifteenth century, and it is noticeable that the monk, Christopher Braystones, who obtained an indulgence for readers of the *Incendium*,¹ was familiar with the short, not the long, text. Spofforth, his patron, was abbot of S. Mary's, York, while the indulgence was granted by the archbishop of York and the bishop of Philippopolis his suffragan: but there is no conclusive evidence to connect the authorship of the short text with York.

The relative number and date of the short text manuscripts render it likely that the abridgment was made very early, possibly by one of the Hampole nuns, if they retained his manuscripts at his death. It seems likely that they, at any rate, retained the *Incendium*, since passages of it were incorporated in the office which they were instrumental in getting drawn up about 1383. Rolle died in 1349, and the effort to obtain his canonisation was made about 1383; it is possible that the abridgment was made before this date; or that the nuns of Hampole then sent his manuscript to York, to be used in the compilation of the office.² The fact that the author of the abridgment had access to the *Comment on the Canticles*,³ one of Rolle's rarer works, renders it somewhat likely that she was a Hampole nun; and the letter of Anselm to the recluses, part of which is copied among the short passages from the *Incendium*, is one which might have been found among the small Hampole library.

The history of the two texts then seems to be briefly this: Rolle himself wrote the long text, and one of his admirers, possibly a Hampole nun, abridged it at a very early date, omitting the autobiographical passages, and producing a book suitable for study by a member of a religious order.

1. See p. 9.

2. Several passages are quoted in the office.

3. Not widely copied, at least, in comparison with Rolle's other Latin works.

Newton expanded his own short text into the long one from Rolle's manuscript, either while it was still at Hampole or with some north-country owner,¹ if the poverty of the nuns had compelled them to sell it. It was during these years also (the ones preceding 1414) that Braystones was a monk of S. Mary's, York, probably shortly before Newton's death in 1414, and he succeeded in getting the *Incendium* indulgenced at the end of his own life, between 1452-7. Later students of the two forms of the text were James Greenhalgh at Sheen, and Joan Sewell, at Sion. The history of the study of the two texts by owners of *Incendium* manuscripts is thus interesting and continuous.

1. Possibly Henry, Lord Scrope of Masham; see p. 97. Evidence as to the later ownership of two of Rolle's works is contained in *Testamenta Eboracensia*, iii. In 1446 Thomas Beelby bequeathed the original manuscript of the comment on the Psalter to William Duffield, canon of York, on whose death in 1452 it was sold for 14s. 4d., probably to Robert Est of York, who in 1467 bequeathed it to the nuns of Hampole. (See pp. 59n, 133, 159.) References to works of Rolle not specified as holographs occur on pp. 133, 199n : his *Nouem Lectiones Mortuorum* fetched 8s. in 1452.

THE FOUNDATION OF SION ABBEY.

As the present English monographs on Sion abbey either leave the foundation and early years of the community in great obscurity, or adopt an unsatisfactory theory to explain the difficulties in the English records, it seems worth while to append a short account of the foundation of this royal abbey.

The books on the subject at present most accessible to English readers are G. J. Aungier's *History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery*,¹ and the Introduction to J. H. Blunt's edition of the *Myroure of oure Ladye*.² A far more exhaustive study is Dr. Torvald's Höjer's *Studier i Vadstena Klosters och Birgittinordens Historia*, which adds to the evidence the result of research among the Swedish Royal Archives, and various MSS. in the Upsala University Library. This Swedish work is, however, inaccessible to most English readers, and was only studied by the writer through the kindness of the present Lady Abbess of Sion,³ for whom a partial translation had been made by Miss Howitt. Dr. Höjer, however, being primarily interested in the foundation of Sion as part of the history of a Swedish saint and her work, has not referred to certain English sources which throw more light on the subject, and clear up some points which he leaves unsettled.⁴

The undisputed point in the early history of Sion abbey is its foundation in 1415 by Henry V, as a monastery for men and women living according to the "Rule of

1. Published 1840.

2. Early English Text Society, extra series, no. 19.

3. Syon abbey, Chudleigh, S. Devon.

4. J. H. Wylie's *Reign of Henry V.*, vol. i., pp. 220-229, published while this monograph was in the press, has a most interesting description of Sion abbey, but does not use the Swedish evidence.

Saint Saviour," which had been lately drawn up by S. Bridget of Sweden. S. Birgitta,¹ or Bridget, the widow of a Swedish nobleman, had founded the double monastery of Vadstena, in the diocese of Linköping, on her husband's death in 1344. To avoid the papal prohibition of the foundation of new orders, the religious at Vadstena were to live under the "rule of S. Augustine,"² supplemented by the constitutions drawn up by S. Bridget;³ they formed therefore one branch of the so-called Augustinian order of canons, the proper name of the branch being "The Order of S. Saviour." S. Bridget died in 1373, and was canonised by Boniface IX in 1391.⁴ Her constitutions had been confirmed by Urban VI in 1379,⁵ and the men's and women's convents at Vadstena had been recognised as a single community ruled by an abbess "under the rule of S. Augustine and the name of S. Saviour." Both the confirmation of the constitutions and the canonisation of the saint took place however during the years of the great schism, and the followers of S. Bridget sought therefore throughout the council of Constance⁶ to obtain a further confirmation of their constitutions and the canonisation of their patroness, because "all Christendom did not adhere

1. See *Bollandist Acta Sanctorum*, October, iv, 476. In the bull for her canonisation in 1419, Martin V speaks of her as "S. Birgitta, quam vulgares Brigidam appellabant." See also Dr. Thorvald Höjer's *Studier*, and the Comtesse de Flavigny, *La Vie de S. Brigide de Suède*.

2. S. Augustine composed no monastic rule, unless the hortatory letter to the nuns of Hippo be considered as such; but a mediæval compilation known as the "regula Augustini" served as a basis for the rule of the Canons of S. Augustine, the Dominicans, the Hermits of S. Augustine, or Austin Friars, and other communities which needed a somewhat general rule to supplement by their own constitutions. See *The new Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of religious knowledge*, Augustinians.

3. *Bollandist Acta Sanctorum*, October, iv, 419.

4. *Ibid.*, 467.

5. *Ibid.*, 466, "sub Regula S. Augustini et vocabulo S. Salvatoris." The words "order" and "rule" are used loosely in the *Acta Sanctorum*; before the 1419 confirmation Martin V speaks of "Ordinem S. Augustini, S. Salvatoris nuncupatum, sub regula et secundum constitutiones seu instituta S. Birgittae, alias Brigidæ nominatae, institutum et fundatum, . . . Nos igitur regulam, constitutiones seu instituta predicta . . . confirmamus." *Ibid.*, 477.

6. *Diplomatarium Suecanum*, 1401—, iii, no. 2,284. Cf. *Studier*, p. 255.

to Boniface, though he was the true pope.”¹ The canonisation was confirmed in 1415 by John XXIII;² but as that pope was immediately afterwards deposed by the council of Constance, the confirmation became invalid, or, at least, insecure. The abbess and convent of Vadstena continued their efforts to obtain a further confirmation, urging their emissary at Constance to try to obtain one from the new pope when the council should have procured his election, and in 1418 writing to England to solicit the influence of Henry V for that end. They suggested that Henry and King Eric of Sweden should both use their influence with the cardinals, and if possible persuade the emperor Sigismund to join in their entreaties to the pope.³ These efforts were successful: Henry V petitioned⁴ Martin V in that same year that whereas “the rule of SS. Mary the Virgin and Bridget in Vadstena, of the order of S. Augustine, called that of S. Saviour” had been confirmed by Urban VI “in the time of the pestiferous schism,” Martin would now confirm it “to stop the mouths of evil speakers,” and that he would also confirm the canonisation of S. Bridget, authorised by Boniface IX during the same pestiferous schism. Eric of Sweden also addressed a petition to the pope on the same subject, and in answer Martin V in 1419 issued at least four bulls⁵ dealing with S. Bridget and her new order: two “ad perpetuam rei memoriam” announcing to the faithful his confirmation of her canonisation and her constitutions, and two addressed to Henry V. Both the latter bulls announced the double confirmation, and then dealt with particular matters connected with

1. *Bollandist Acta Sanctorum*, October, iv, 473.

2. *Ibid.*, 475.

3. *Diplomatarium*, iii, no. 2520. Dated 18 Aug. 1418.

4. For this hitherto unprinted petition, see p. 133.

5. For the bull announcing the canonisation, see *Bollandist Acta Sanctorum*, October, iv, 476, dated Florence, 1 July 1419; the confirmation of the constitutions, *Ibid.*, 477, dated Florence, 7 April 1419. Bulls announcing the confirmation were also addressed to Vadstena, and to Eric XIII. One of the bulls addressed to Henry V is printed in the *Monasticon*, vi, 544, and *Foedera*, ix, pp. 616-18. For the other, hitherto unprinted, see p. 136.

the monastery of the new order which the King had just founded at Sion.¹

The foundation of Sion abbey in 1415, while the rule of the nascent Brigittine order was still unconfirmed, explains some of the private difficulties of the abbey, and most of the obscurities and contradictions in the English records, with which this appendix deals. The difficulties were however surmounted, and Sion remained till the Reformation one of the most prosperous of the English monasteries.² It was one of the first of the larger houses to be dissolved, but the community has maintained a continuous existence to the present day through the flight of the abbess and sisters to the Low Countries, and their subsequent establishment by Philip II. at Lisbon.³ Here they remained till the nineteenth century, the community being recruited throughout the period by English postulants. Among other manuscripts and relics which the community preserved throughout its flight and exile was the *Martiloge* of Sion monastery, a calendar with the names and dates of death of the brothers and sisters filled into the appropriate days of the month, and preceded by valuable memoranda concerning the foundation of the abbey, lists of abbesses, confessors, benefactors, etc. When the community returned to England they brought with them this and other manuscripts, some of which they were forced to part with before their final settlement at Syon Abbey, Chudleigh, Devon, where the sisters' convent remains to this day. The *Martiloge* was acquired by the British Museum,⁴ which possesses also another manuscript,⁵ from which the daily life at Sion can be studied as a supplement to the history of the early years of the community given in the *Martiloge*.

1. On the Thames, near the present Kew Gardens.

2. The gross annual revenue at the Dissolution was £1,944. 11s. 5½d. See Aungier, pp. 89, 483.

3. See p. 122n.

4. Now Brit. Mus., *Addit. MS.*, 22, 285.

5. Brit. Mus., *Arundel MS.*, 146: the *Additions* to the rule of S. Bridget, compiled for the monastery of Sion, and printed in Aungier, p. 249.

The account of the foundation given in the latter manuscript differs noticeably in some respects from the evidence of the foundation charter¹ of Sion, and through comparison with certain Swedish records has proved to be justified. There is no reason to doubt, however, that the directions in the foundation charter for the constitution of the new monastery were substantially carried out. As with all double orders, the aim of combining convents of men and women under the same roof was to secure for the nuns the ministrations of priests professed in the same order, who should be also better able to supervise the finances of the community and travel in its behalf. Thus the proportions of men and women at Sion were not to be equal, but the community was to consist of sixty sisters, including the abbess, and twenty-five brothers, including the confessor. The relative numbers show, however, that the brothers at Sion were not primarily a staff of chaplains for the sisters, as in Gilbertine foundations: they had a fine library and included several scholars of repute, including the liturgiologist, Clement Maidstone,² the chief fifteenth century authority on the Sarum Use.

The obscurities of Sion history include an attempt to found a Brigittine community in England before 1415. In the years preceding and during the council of Constance, S. Bridget was perhaps the most popular northern saint of the day; her new order impressed contemporaries with its enthusiasm and asceticism, and reverence for the saint naturally centred in Sweden. When Philippa, the daughter of Henry IV of England, became Queen of Sweden in 1406, admiration for S. Bridget spread to England through the medium of a gentleman of Philippa's retinue, Sir Henry FitzHugh, baron of Ravensworth.³ The *Sion Martiloge* describes the latter as "primus qui introduxit hanc religionem in regnum Anglie,"⁴ and he is known to political

1. *Monasticon*, vi, 542.

2. *Henry V*, p. 229.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 221.

4. *Addit. MS.*, 22,285, f. 14.

history as the trusted follower of both Henry IV and Henry V. He was a nephew of archbishop Scrope, but helped to suppress the northern rising of 1405, and was actually present with the force which captured him.¹ Henry IV granted him the custody of the temporalities of the see of York after Scrope's death,² when he must have been brought into contact with John Newton, the vicar-general of his uncle.³ Henry IV also made him a member of other commissions incident on the northern risings, and in 1412 rewarded him with an income of £100 annually,⁴ "the king considering how at divers times the said Henry has laboured in Scotland and elsewhere, and in Denmark, for the marriage of the king's daughter, the Queen of Denmark, and done service to the king's son John, without due wages, except an annuity of 100 marks granted to him by the king by letters patent, of which 750 marks are now due to him," etc.

On the coronation of Henry V he was appointed constable of England, and he is mentioned as the king's chamberlain in March, 1415.⁵ Till his death in 1424 he formed one of the king's household, and was in constant attendance upon him. He had thus considerable influence under Henry IV, was himself part of the machine of central government under Henry V, and was also a prominent Yorkshire gentleman, taking a considerable part in local history and administration, a fact the more natural in a reign when the political centre of gravity inclined so strongly towards the northern counties. It is interesting that FitzHugh, like Newton, possessed a copy of Rolle's *Incendium Amoris*, possibly even the holograph copy from which Newton emended his own short text. In 1415 Henry Lord Scrope

1. See Wylie, *Henry IV*, iii, 221.

2. *C. P. R.*, 1405-8, p. 24.

3. See pp. 78, 79.

4. *C. P. R.*, 1408-13, p. 446.

5. *Ibid.*, 1413-16, p. 283. Original grant in 1399; *C. P. R.*, 1399-1401, p. 94.

bequeathed to FitzHugh¹ “for a remembrance” “a book . . . in which is contained the *Incendium Amoris*, which Richard the Hermit composed, and a small paper in which is contained a homily on the (psalm) *Judica me Deus*, which Richard the Hermit composed and wrote.” If, as is not directly stated, the *Incendium Amoris* were also Rolle’s own manuscript, Newton may easily have had access to it through his connexion with archbishop Scrope.

FitzHugh took the first step in the foundation of a Brigittine monastery in 1406, when Henry IV employed him to arrange the marriage of his daughter Philippa with Eric XIII of Sweden. He accompanied the princess to Lund, where the marriage took place, and afterwards on her visit to the convent at Vadstena. “In this year,” *i.e.* 1406, says the Vadstena Diary, “was celebrated the marriage of the lord King with the daughter of the King of England, Philippa by name. . . . And when the wedding was accomplished, there came to Vadstena the lord Henry Ravensworth, a noble knight of England, and before the assembled convent he stated that he wished to found in England a monastery of the rule of S. Saviour, and he gave the brothers his letters concerning a place of this kind, and dower, and sought that two brothers should be sent to England for the founding of such a monastery, to which also the brothers assented, with heartfelt joy. This was done about the festival of S. Andrew the Apostle.”²

This entry is confirmed by the actual “letters” or charter, dated 28 Nov. 1406, handed by FitzHugh to the abbess of Vadstena. In them he states that:—

“I, Henry FitzHugh, English knight, lord of Ravensworth of the demesne of the renowned prince, the lord king of England, for the honour of Almighty God,

1. *Foedera*, ix, 276.

2. *Diarium Vazstenense*, edit. Benzeliu, Upsala, 1721, p. 35. Benzeliu added Fitz Hugh’s “letters” as a supplement to the *Diarium* from MS. 46, Upsala public library; see *Diarium*, p. 194. Both have been reprinted in *Scriptores Rerum Suecicarum*, i, 83—.

. . . . strengthened by the confidence of the prince my lord, and, as I hope, of many English nobles in order that the Order called S. Saviour's, dedicated to His Mother the Virgin Mary, and subject to the discipline of the Rule mysteriously revealed to the blessed Bridget, His elect spouse, and situated first in the kingdom of Sweden, at the place called Vadstena, might be established and founded in the kingdom of England: by the guidance and protection of the King of Kings. . . . For the foundation, building, and perpetual support of which, I have lawfully given, bequeathed and irrevocably assigned my manor of Hinton near Cambridge in the diocese of Ely, with all belonging to it, according to the custom of the country. Which lawful gift I have handed over to the worthy Lords, the lord Thomas Langley¹ Bishop of Durham, sometime Dean of York and Chancellor of the kingdom, Master William Cawood² Canon of Ripon, Richard Norton, John Burg, John Latim Rector of the Church of Romald-Kirk, Hugh of Lincoln Rector of the Church of Tanfield,³ and John Aiscough; to these I have handed over the aforesaid goods on this condition, that if within ten years any brethren of the aforesaid Order come to England, they shall assign, and shall not delay to assign, the aforesaid goods to these brethren, for the foundation, building, revenue and support of the same; even if these brethren shall have been granted any other dwelling or site by the lord king, or by other nobles of the kingdom: so that the aforesaid noble persons shall hand over all the goods as they received them, on the receipt of these present, without any delay or hindrance, in due legal form, to these aforesaid brethren immediately, whensoever they come to England." "Which lawful gift at

1. Canon of York 1400; dean of York 20 July 1401; elected by the chapter as archbishop in 1405, but "provided" by the pope to the see of Durham.

2. See p. 69n.

3. For Tanfield, cf. pp. 17, 31, 88.

Vadstena, in the presence of the honourable lady abbess and of the reverend father, the confessor general of this monastery, and of both convents, (that is to say, of men and women,) attested by my spoken word, by the pledge of my hands, and by the token of my helmet,¹ I have approved and sealed, and established for all time to come, in the presence of the comrade of my journey, sir Halneth Mauleverer,² knight, and of my private chaplain, dom. Peter."

The other witnesses to the charter were the priests Katilbernus and Stephanus, with "Eschillus et Laurentius Romanus, claustri prouisoires," and "my beloved Olave Botuidus, the Franciscan, Lector of Stockholm." To further secure the charter, the primate of Sweden, the archbishop of Upsala, appended his seal.

The first brother sent to England to claim the fulfilment of the charter made only a short stay, and died immediately on his return. The *Vadstena Diary* states that shortly before November 1, 1407, "Dominus Hemmingus, curatus noster in Vadstena," died in Jutland, in the city of Ripen. The brothers had sent him to England, to see and accept a certain monastery which was there to be built in honour of S. Bridget."³ On 6 April, 1408, there is another entry, that "Two brothers of the monastery, namely br. John Peterson, priest, and br. Katillus, deacon, were chosen by the convent, and at their request crossed over to England, where a certain noble and devout knight promised the brethren that he would build a monastery to the honour of S. Saviour, His Holy Mother the Virgin Mary, and S. Bridget, our blessed patroness."⁴ The history of these

1. "Galeaeque meae signaculo." Reference to the ceremony of the delivery of the manor of Hinton to the abbess, "viva voce," with the transfer of a token. Fitz Hugh probably placed his hands between those of the abbess, according to the form of the old oath of fealty, and laid upon the altar the crest from his helmet.

2. See *Henry V.*, p. 225, note 8.

3. *Scriptores Rerum Suecicarum*, i, p. 124. Not Magnus Hemmingson; see p. 107.

4. *Ibid.*, i, p. 25.

brothers between the years 1408 and the royal foundation in 1415 is one of the puzzles of Sion history. Entries in the diary shew that both of them remained in England. "On October 4, 1416, br. John Peterson returned from England, where he had remained for eight years in a monastery of our Order."¹ The record of his death, 30 December, 1418, states that "he was one of the first to enter this Order. He had returned here two years before from England, and he left many good works in writings and books, and he underwent many toils for the spread of the Order, during the eight years which he stayed in England."² Br. Katillus stayed longer, returning in 1421, as is shewn by a safe conduct for his journey in the Swedish royal archives.³

The royal foundation charter of Sion,⁴ of 1415, suggests that the two brothers may have succeeded in founding some sort of a community, for it appoints as abbess and confessor "professed" Brigittines, at a time when there was no Brigittine house in England at which they could have taken their vows. "Et ut haec praesens fundatio nostra debitum sortiatur effectum, sororem Matildem Neuton, monialem professam ordinis predicti (*i.e.* ordinis sancti Augustini sancti Salvatoris nuncupati) in abbatissam monasterii predicti, et fratrem Willelmum Alnewyk, in ordine sacerdotali constitutum,⁵ ordinis predicti similiter professum, in confessorem loci predicti, hac vice praeficiamus, creamus et ordinamus." From this circumstance, and the evidence of an entry in the *Sion Martiloge*, Mr. J. H. Blunt⁶ concluded that "There must have been brothers and sisters of the Order existing before (1415), as is shewn by the appointment of the Abbess and Confessor General from among their number." Thirty-eight Brigittines were professed at Sion in 1420, and "these thirty-eight doubtless

1. *Scriptores Rerum Suecicarum*, i, p. 138.

2. *Ibid.*, i, p. 139.

3. *Studier*, p. 255.

4. *Monasticon*, vi, 540.

5. See p. 131.

6. *Myroure of Oure Lady*, p. xvi.

completed the number of eighty-five provided for by the charter of foundation." Other writers¹ have suggested that the two Brigittines founded their community at Fitz Hugh's manor of Cherry Hinton, near Cambridge. The statement of the *Sion Martiloge* does not, however, justify this theory. It says of Fitz Hugh: "He was the first who introduced this order into the kingdom of England; and he supported certain brothers of this order, sent from Vadstena to begin this, for many years at his own cost; and as part of the dower of this monastery he gave his demesne and manor of Hinton in the county of Cambridge. And at his death he bequeathed £20 to be faithfully paid in addition to the aforesaid manor, which is worth £20 in yearly rent. Therefore he is justly reckoned among the first and special benefactors."²

The English evidence against the existence of a pre-1415 community at Cherry Hinton is, however, much stronger. The *Sion Martiloge* calls the great 1420 profession "the first in England": "Anno domini 1420, uicesimo die mensis aprilis . . . celebrata erat prima professio ordinis sancti Saluatoris de Sion in regno Anglie per manus uenerabilis patris domini Henrici Chicheley Cantuariensis archiepiscopi"; and besides thus ignoring the profession of Matilda Newton and Alnwick, as mentioned in the foundation charter, it does not even include them in the *Obit Book* as professed Brigittines at all.³ It is, moreover, difficult to see how so informal a beginning could have been made at the moated farm-house, which in 1408 formed the nucleus of Fitz Hugh's manor of Up-Halle,⁴ at Cherry Hinton, or how the two brothers could have started a double monastery without special buildings. The local records have no reference to the stay of the two Brigittines at

1. Fr. Adam Hamilton, O.S.B.; *The Order of S. Saviour in England under the Tudors*, in the *Poor Souls' Friend*, 1907; Flavigny, *La vie de S. Brigide de Suède*, p. 557.

2. *Addit. MS.* 22,285, f. 14b.

3. *Ibid.* The *Obit book* itself is a calendar, with spaces left for the insertion of names; these are all in different handwritings, according to the period.

4. Cf. Hinton, in Lysons' *Environs of Cambridge*.

Cherry Hinton, much less to the existence of any community there. At this date, the advowson of the living of Cherry Hinton had just been confirmed to Peterhouse, Cambridge, after a struggle with the bishop of Ely so prolonged that the confirmation of the bishop of Ely, the two English archbishops, the king and the pope himself had been sought, when once Peterhouse had gained its point.¹ The Peterhouse compotus rolls contain many references to Cherry Hinton, both during and after the struggle, but none to a Brigittine community there.² This evidence is inconclusive, but the absence of any reference in the Ely episcopal register is almost decisive. Bishop John Fordham's register exists at Ely³ for the years 1408-12 (the first four of the seven of the supposed Brigittine residence there), but there is no entry relative to their establishment there, nor are there any Brigittines, in the list of "religious" candidates for ordination.

The evidence of the *Patent Rolls* is also against the existence of a community at Cherry Hinton. There is no licence for Fitz Hugh to alienate the land in mortmain in 1406, or later, and its absence is explained by a grant of Henry VI, in 1444.⁴ This is a "Grant in frankalmoign to the abbess and convent of S. Saviour's, Sion, of the manor of Hinton called 'Uphalle' in Cambridge, and all lands rents and services late of Henry Fitz Hugh, lord of Ravensworth, deceased, in Hinton, Great Wilbraham and Little Wilbraham, co. Cambridge, which the said Henry granted to Thomas, bishop of Durham, deceased, by the name of Thomas Langley, and others, (as in Fitz Hugh's Charter of 1406)—to the intent that they should grant the same to the king, and that the king should grant the same to the said abbess and convent, when the said monastery should be founded . . . and the said bishop demised the

1. Walker's *History of Peterhouse*, pp. 58, 59.

2. The compotus rolls of Thomas of Barnards Castle, master at the date of the supposed residence of the Brigittines at Hinton, do not mention them.

3. For abstracts, cf. *Ely Diocesan Remembrancer*, circa 1900-01.

4. *C. P. R.*, 1441-6, p. 276.

same to Henry V, who had newly founded the said monastery, but as the king learns, did not complete the said demise." ¹

This shews that Hinton remained in the hands of Langley, and the other trustees till about 1415-16, when Henry V was founding Sion, and was then transferred to him. The arrangement was perhaps made to avoid payment of the fees on alienation, but more probably as a merely business device to secure uniformity, that Hinton might be classed among the other royal estates granted to Sion, and administered uniformly with them. Sion incurred no financial loss, since the 1415 foundation charter allowed the abbey a revenue of 1000 marks yearly at the exchequer, till the revenues wherewith the king was endowing her should reach that sum.² Fitz Hugh himself, as chamberlain, was certainly cognisant of the arrangement, if not actually responsible for it.

A study of the Swedish evidence leads Dr. Höjer to conclude that "no monastery was constructed at Hinton," ³ and that "the extract given by Blunt (from the *Martiloge*) does not appear to prove its existence." The Swedish evidence includes an "undated, very much injured and defective letter from Br. Katillus to the confessor general of Vadstena, from which it appears that plans were on foot to turn a hospital for the poor near York into a Brigittine monastery," but though Henry IV actually applied for papal sanction thus to convert the decayed hospital of S. Nicholas without the Walmgate Bar at York, the plan was not completed.⁴ To refer to evidence of a somewhat later date, letters from Vadstena to postulant Brigittines in England shew that as late as 1418 no formally constituted community existed at Sion, and that the only professed Brigittines there were the brothers sent from Vadstena; the English congregation was "not as yet united and knit

1. Hinton appears after 1444 in two Sion inventories; cf. Aungier, 59, 77, 442.

2. *Monasticon*, vi. 543.

3. See *Studier*, p. 252.

4. *Henry V*, p. 221.

to our order by one and the same profession, neither as yet completely loosed from the bonds of its former professions"; the English brothers are "not yet incorporated in our Order by holy Profession."¹

It thus appears that during the years 1408-15 Fitz Hugh maintained the two brothers sent from Vadstena at his own cost, and possibly at Hinton: but there is no evidence that any postulants joined them during the period. The labours of Peterson and Katillus probably consisted in the conferences and preparations which must have preceded the accomplishment of so large a scheme as the foundation in 1415: and in the explanation of the rule or constitutions to the religious of other orders. The delay in the foundation of the community was almost certainly due to Fitz Hugh's expectation that Henry IV would found it himself, on a larger scale than he could have attempted: perhaps as one of the three houses which Henry was enjoined by Gregory XII to build, in expiation for the murder of Richard II and archbishop Scrope, Fitz Hugh's uncle,—a mandate which perhaps inspired his son's foundations of Sion and Sheen, and the attempted foundation of Celestines.² The financial difficulties of Henry, however, prevented the realisation of Fitz Hugh's hopes. A letter from Vadstena to Henry V in 1415 hopes that "even as Solomon magnificently consummated the temple which David his father planned to build, so also may the merciful integrity of your majesty bring to due fulfilment a monastery of this kind, which the devout intention of your generous father, hindered by death, could not achieve."³ The language of the 1444 grant to Hinton also points to this: Fitz Hugh did not in his original charter, as this grant states, "give the land to the trustees, that they might give it to the king, that he might give it to Sion": but simply

1. *Diplomatarium*, iii, no. 2521; cf. iii, no. 2522.

2. See *Henry IV*, ii, 332; *Henry V*, 214, 230.

3. *Diplomatarium*, iii, no. 2082. This agrees with Fitz Hugh's stipulation that his grant of land should hold good "even if these brethren shall have been granted any other dwelling or site by the lord king."

to the trustees, that they might hand it over to the Vadstena brothers on their arrival. The language of the 1444 grant reflects, not Fitz Hugh's intention in 1406, but his wishes during the years of waiting before 1415. Henry V, besides endowing Sion with large estates in the foundation charter of March, 1415, and bequeathing it a sum of 1000 marks of gold in his will of 24 July following,¹ made a fresh grant to it on 20 April, 1416,² consisting mainly of the lands of alien priories appropriated by parliament to the crown in 1414.³ It is curious that when parliament had, by the last of a series of acts, confiscated the lands of cells belonging to foreign monasteries, the king should have used so considerable a part of this revenue granted to the household in endowing what was at first a foreign monastery itself. Perhaps another reason for the delay in founding Sion in Henry IV's reign was that a house founded by Fitz Hugh must have been more naturally a cell to Vadstena, which, as parliament had legislated against alien priories in 1408, was impossible; Henry V later, obtained from Martin V permission to found Sion as the first house of an English order.

The Sion *Martiloge* records the laying of the foundation-stone of Sion abbey thus: "Anno domini m° cccc° xv° in festo cathedre sancti Petri, littera dominicali F, positus fuit primus lapis in monasterio sancti Saluatoris et sanctarum Marie Uirginis et Birgitte, ordinis sancti Augustini sancti Saluatoris nuncupati; per Henricum quintum regem Anglie, presente episcopo Londonie Ricardo Clifford." ⁴ This statement has led some writers, who allowed for the English method of reckoning the beginning of the year from March 25, to give this date as February 22, 1416, instead of February 22, 1415. Dr. Höjer cannot reconcile the date 1416 with a letter of Henry V which speaks of Sion as

1. *Foedera*, ix, 289, edit. 1709.

2. Printed Aungier, p. 32.

3. *Parl. Rolls*, iv, 22. Parliament had ordered the appointment of priors to various alien priories on Nov. 13, 1399; and on Feb. 21, 1408, had appropriated the revenue of alien priories to supply funds for the expenses of the royal household (see Wylie, *Henry IV*, i, 79, and iii, 142).

4. *Addit. MS.* 22,285, f. 14.

being in course of building in April, 1415.¹ The reference to "dominical letter F" can only, however, mean 1415, while the date of the foundation charter,² 2 Henry V, March 3, must refer to March, 1415. (The regnal year of Henry V began 21 March.) The *Vita Henrici Quinti* also, in describing the foundation of Sion, places it before the king's departure for France in the autumn of 1415.³ The *Martiloge* was possibly written by one of the Swedish sisters sent over for the instruction of the new order in 1415, or by a monk trained by one of the Swedish brothers in the continental method of reckoning. There seems, therefore, in any case, no reason to impugn Shakespeare's historical accuracy, when he makes Henry V soliloquise before Agincourt on the foundation of the two chantries for the repose of Richard's soul.⁴

The laying of the foundation stone on February 22, 1415, in the presence of the bishop of London, must have been an imposing ceremony. A month later Henry issued the Sion foundation charter, and in April he and his sister Philippa, the Swedish queen, sent letters to Vadstena, asking that Brigittine brothers and sisters might be sent for the instruction of the new monastery.⁵ A letter from the abbess and confessor of Vadstena, dated 16 May, 1415, states that "We have received letters from Your Serene Highness, urgently asking that we should send persons of both sexes of our order (religio) to your happy kingdom of England, to the house which your royal magnificence . . . has recently caused to be begun and built . . . the which persons should be competent fully to instruct in the observance of the rule those who may chance to enter the sacred order (religio) in the future." They send therefore "Four

1. *Studier*, p. 253.

2. *Charter Roll*, 2 Hen. V, pt. 2, m. 28.

3. *Vita et gesta Henrici Quinti*, edit. Hearne, p. 25.

4. The two chantries were Sion and the Carthusian House of Jesus of Bethlehem of Sheen. As the two houses were so near, and as Sion was sometimes loosely called "Shene," the two are sometimes confused. cf. *Henry V.*, p. 229.

5. *Studier*, p. 255.

consecrated sisters, well instructed in the observances of the rule, with one brother, a priest, and two maidens, suitable for the choir and singing." They entreat Henry to treat them favourably, according to his promise, "together with our two brothers sent at the request of the lord Henry of happy memory, your most dear father, at another time,"¹ —a sentence which shews that the two brothers, John Peterson and Katillus, were still in England. The *Vadstena Diary* states that in May, 1415, "at the request of the king of England, and of the king and queen of Sweden, there went forth four consecrated sisters, namely, Christina Finwids dottir, Ragnildis Tideka dottir, and Anna and Christina Esbiorna dottir, with three maidens not consecrated; with whom also there went at the same time, br. John of Kalmar and dom. Magnus Hemmingson, to begin the spreading of our order in England. And these persons were led forth with great solemnity by the archbishop of Lund, and all the Swedish bishops, and one from Norway, and a host of knights and solemn messengers."² Of these sisters, Christina Finwids dottir had entered the order in 1386,³ Anna (Karls dottir) in 1400,⁴ while Ragnildis Tideka dottir's profession is not known. Christina Esbiorna had been educated by Cecilia, daughter of S. Bridget herself, and had been professed in 1400, and the names of all the sisters occur in the *Sion Martiloge*.

The little party of Brigittines arrived at King's Lynn,⁵ and probably proceeded to the building at Twickenham, which had been begun in February, five months before. There they were joined, sometime before 1418, by postulants from different religious houses,⁶ as is shewn by Henry's

1. *Diplomatarium*, iii, 2082.

2. Benzeliuss, p. 54 (*Scriptores Rerum Suecicarum*, p. 136). For letters of denization to Magnus Hemmingson, see *C. P. R.*, 1413-16, p. 159.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 4 (*S.R.S.*, p. 102). Cf. Aungier, p. 51.

4. *S.R.S.*, p. 113.

5. Aungier, p. 46. *Henry V*, p. 222, note 7.

6. It was the Brigittine custom that postulants should live for a year near the monastery, coming there at intervals for instruction from a "sad and discreet sister." As the Swedish sisters had been sent to instruct the new community, however, it is probable that many of the postulants lived at Sion for some time before the "first profession" of 1420.

request for papal permission for their exchange into the Brigittine order, in 1418,¹ and a letter from Vadstena to these postulants, which speaks of "your congregation, gathered together from different orders, not yet united by the same profession."² The congregation numbered at least one recluse: for in March, 1416, bishop Stafford of Exeter granted the petition of Margaret, recluse of Bodmin, to transfer herself to the monastery of S. Bridget by Sheen.³ Letters from Vadstena to Henry V, Fitz Hugh, and the English monks intending to enter the Brigittine order, in 1418, speak of the "congregation" as dwelling in the "new monastery" of Sion, which Henry had built in Twickenham, and shew that no English Brigittine had yet been professed, and that the community was not as yet formally constituted.⁴

The history of the persons whom Henry V named in the foundation charter as first abbess and confessor of Sion is interesting. There is the *prima facie* difficulty of the conflicting evidence of the foundation charter and the *Sion Martiloge*: the charter speaks of their appointment as abbess and confessor, as professed Brigittines,⁵ the *Martiloge* knows nothing whatever about them. Not only are Joan North and Thomas Fishbourn (actually elected in 1421) described as first abbess and confessor respectively: but Matilda Newton and Alnwick are not even mentioned among the benefactors, or in the *Obit Book*. Other evid-

1. *Vide infra*, p. 130.

2. *Diplomatarium*, iii, 2521, dated 18 Aug. 1418.

3. Hingeston-Randolph, *Reg. Stafford*, p. 25. Co. Cornwall. Margaret, an anchoress, dwelling near Bodmin, having asked permission to migrate to the monastery of S. Bridget by Shene, and to join the Order, settled there, is licensed by the bishop accordingly, 10 March, 1415-16." *Ibid.*, p. 394. "Will of Rich. Tyttesbury, canon of Exeter: bequeaths to Anchorite of Bodmin 40d., 1405-6."

4. *Diplomatarium*, iii, nos. 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2524.

5. Wylie, in *Henry V*, p. 222, note 10, slurs over the difficulty by calling Matilda a "professed Augustinian," though he himself says elsewhere that she was a "strict recluse from the Benedictine Abbey of Barking." I know of no evidence that Matilda was an enclosed recluse before her retirement from Sion: and the S. Alban's chronicler's description of her as "monialis de Berkynge" implies that she was simply a Benedictine nun. The *Supplica* (see p. 131) renders this certain.

ence shews that the *Martiloge* is substantially right, and the foundation charter wrong, or misleading. In 1415, when Henry V wished to endow the new monastery, there were no English Brigittines in England: but it was necessary for legal purposes that such a community should be created, on paper at least, in order to deal with the large estates which he was about to transfer. Matilda and Alnwick were among those intending to enter the new order (although as late as 1418 they had not actually left their old):¹ and the legal mind solved the difficulty by describing these postulants as professed Brigittines. The *Martiloge* is of course right in giving the title of abbess and confessor only to those who had been canonically elected by the whole convent,—a procedure impossible in 1415, when there was no convent to elect them.² The foundation charter actually provided that, “on the death or resignation of the said abbess (Matilda), the convent of the aforesaid place shall have full and free power to elect another abbess in her place.” The omission of Matilda and Alnwick from the *Obit Book* is due to the fact that neither of them died in the order: Matilda, certainly, was never professed, and it is most unlikely in the case of Alnwick.

Their withdrawal was connected with the general difficulties of the “new monastery of Sion.” The foundation of this monastery was no easy task, even for Henry V, and the years between 1415 and 1420 were difficult ones for the little community at Twickenham. To begin with, it was not merely a new monastery, but a new order, which Henry V was founding: no other Brigittine houses were actually started in England, but this step was contemplated in 1415, and provision was made in applying for the papal confirmation for the foundation of Sion, that the grant should apply also to any other Brigittine houses the king might found in his realm.³ Long conferences were held

1. *Diplomatarium*, iii, 2522.

2. The two Swedish brothers were a “conventus” in the legal sense; but there was no professed sister whom they could have elected as abbess.

3. *Foedera*, ix, 616.

between the most distinguished Benedictines, Cistercians, etc., in England, as to the rule of the new order which Henry was introducing;¹ and the king had the additional difficulty to encounter, that the rule of the whole Brigittine order was still seeking confirmation from the pope whose election had healed the Great Schism. This Brigittine rule had been drawn up by Peter Olafson, S. Bridget's director, from the book of her *Revelations*, and from the *Revelationes Extravagantes* which he had himself compiled after her death. The regulations, based on the Augustinian rule, had been already in 1415 confirmed by the pope as "constitutiones"; but Vadstena was anxious to obtain their confirmation from Martin V, and in all the letters sent from Vadstena to England, the king was besought to use his influence with the pope, or with the cardinals, to obtain this result.² There was as yet no formally constituted rule for the whole Brigittine order, on which the king and his advisers could proceed.

There was also the second difficulty, of the double nature of the new order, with all the minor complications which this involved, and for which the English double order of the Gilbertines seems to have been too local and temporary to have afforded precedent. According to the rule of S. Bridget, the abbess was the head of the whole monastery in temporals, the confessor general in spirituals: but the relations between them must have been necessarily rather delicate, and in Henry's new monastery at Twickenham, the arrangement, at first, did not work. The foundation charter³ had specified that the men's and women's convents should be separate, "distinctus per se," but that they should be able and capable to hold land "sicut unum monasterium incorporatum de quadam abbatissa et uno conventu distincto per se"; Alnwick was appointed confessor, "ut ipse et successores sui viris religiosus in

1. Cf. *Introd. to Addiciones*, Arundel MS. 186.

2. *Diplomatarium*, iii, 2519-2522.

3. *Monasticon*, vi, 540.

spiritualibus praesint," and Matilda "ut abbatissa loci praedicti existat, ac eadem abbatissa et successores suae monialibus sive sororibus praedictis praesint, *ac regimen universale monasterii praedicti, tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus super se assumant*, et ea faciant et exequantur, quae ad abbatissam eiusdem loci pertinent vel pertinere quovismodo possint, eo quod huiusmodi confessor praedictis viris religiosis in spiritualibus praesit, ut praedictum est, dumtaxat excepto." The passage does not seem to have been sufficiently explicit to ensure smooth working at Twickenham: difficulties arose, and the abbess declared that "by the rule of S. Saviour, she was head of the monastery in every particular, to be obeyed by the general confessor and the brothers."¹ The whole sisters' convent joined her in the refusal which she made at the same time to obey the *Additiones*, which prior Peter Olafson had added to S. Bridget's rule, compiling them from the *Revelationes Extravagantes*. These the Vadstena convent was apparently inclined to accept. A manuscript in Upsala University library² describes a conference held in England to decide some of the vexed questions: "Predictus episcopus" (Stephen Patrington,³ bishop of S. David's), "confessor regis, abbates et maximi magistri Anglie, presente rege et conventibus utriusque sexus monasterii sancti Salvatoris in Syon, et multis aliis monachis et clericis secularibus, nullatenus prebuerent assensum, ut prius memorate sorores a se dimitterent domos officiosas, braxaturam videlicet et pistrinam et coquinam, sine requisicione, dispensacione et speciali licencia pape.—Hec determinata fuerunt in octaua Epiphanie domine, anno eiusdem 1416." (13 January, 1416.)

These difficulties over the *Additiones* to the rule were not confined to the English convent. In a correspondence

1. *Studier*, p. 77.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 77. It is noticeable that the postulant Brigittines are here spoken of as "two convents." The local Sion *Additiones* were first drawn up at this meeting, though revised later; see pp. 122, 131.

3. *Henry V.*, p. 311.

between Vadstena and bishop Knut of Linköping during the council of Constance, the bishop says, "Predictæ additiones hactenus exstiterunt variate et quasi nullius roboris remissius observate, proh dolor, in non modicum vestrarum periculum animarum,"¹ while a letter from Vadstena asserts that "constitutiones nostre, que per tot annos et tempora sunt inter nos ventilate, nunc acceptate, nunc refutate, nunc lacerate et iterum reformatæ—adhuc hodierna die remanent vacillantes."²

In the autumn following the January conference of theologians in England, a letter from Vadstena to brother Thorvirus, the Brigittine emissary at the council of Constance, refers to the course of events in England. The letter is dated 7 October, 1416, and states that:

"On July 29th brother John Johnson (*i.e.* John of Kalmar), whom we sent last year to England with the sisters, returned; and although his place was filled by someone else, we however received him, as we do not know at present what we ought to do about him. Brother John Peterson also departed from England, as our sisters wrote to us, but up till now we have heard nothing from him as to whither he went. . . ."

They continue, "moreover, we cannot express the great sorrows and anxieties which we bear in our hearts concerning the instability of our constitutions. For we have heard that there was a dispute concerning them by the doctors in England, in the presence of the king and very many others; and our brothers made assertions against the sisters, and the sisters against the statement of the brothers, and the disputed articles, as we believe, have been sent to the council (of Constance); and with one consent we most urgently implore you, that you will, if it is at any time possible, procure the confirmation of our aforesaid constitutions; for you, brother Thorvirus, to whom we formerly entrusted this matter and even now the more specially

1. *Studier*, p. 76.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

commend it,—you know how weak we are for immoderate labours, and especially we sisters, who on account of the many disadvantages of our frail sex cannot sustain any heavy labours: let your fraternity then provide that these constitutions, when they are confirmed, weigh not too heavily upon us . . . that they do not overpass the limits of our frailty.” The letter ends by reminding brother Thorvirus that the Vadstena sisters had sent to him certain papers (quaterni), specifying the particulars which they themselves wished to observe in the rule.¹

The conference in January, 1416, was probably one of a series of deliberations held by distinguished abbots to draw up the “Additions” to the rule of Our Saviour which should apply specifically to the English Brigittine houses. At this conference, the petition of the sisters against the performance of certain kinds of manual work, such as cooking and baking, was refused: and the claim of the abbess Matilda Newton to be obeyed by the confessor and brothers, was also refused. The sequel is to be found in a Patent Roll entry of May 17, 1417: “Grant, at the supplication of Matilda Newton, a recluse of Barkyng, to Robert Chudlegh, William Crowmere, Henry Chaderton, Stephen Ingelfield, John Lincoln and John de la Miere, clerk, of 20 marks yearly for her natural life, at the hands of the sheriffs of London, to her use.”² There is no reasonable doubt that Matilda Newton, the abbess, and Matilda Newton, the recluse, are the same: one of the trustees mentioned in the grant, Henry Chaderton, is frequently mentioned in other grants,³ as one of the trustees for Sion, and in one place, as surveyor of the building works at Sion⁴: and a passage in the *Chronicon Rerum Gestarum in monasterio S. Albani* makes the identity certain. The passage occurs in the description of the year 1428, after an account of the wet harvest⁵:

1. *Diplomatarium*, iii, 2284.

2. *C.P.R.*, 1416-22, p. 102; repeated, p. 115. The grant was confirmed by Henry VI in 1423; *ibid.*, 1422-9, p. 43.

3. *Ibid.*, 1416-22, p. 75; 1422-9, p. 207.

4. *Ibid.*, 1422-9, p. 341.

5. *Chronicles and Memorials*, no. 28, *Iohannes Amundesham*, i, 27.

“ Dominus Thomas Fishbourn, primo dapifer domini abbatis Willelmi, postea Romam adiens dispensationem curiae, ut sacerdotio fungeretur, adeptus est, et uitam solitariam ducens apud Sanctum Germanum,¹ sic familiaritatem Alienorae Hulle et Elizabeth Beauchamp et aliarum inherendo et obsequendo, in magnam notitiam regis profusus est; et post, Willelmus Alnwick, reclusus monachus Westmonasterii, cum aliis monachis diuersorum locorum, in custodiam feminarum prefectus est: sed post anni circulum, tedio et senio confectus, ad cellam suam, unde egressus fuerat, reuersus est.”

“ In tempore uero Willelmi Alnwick, prima abbatissa, *monialis* de Barking² a dignitate sua per Regem exonerata est, cui successit in honorem et reclusionem *monialis* de Markyate.³ Medio uero tempore Dominus Thomas Fishbourn, Romam ad Papam Martinum proficiscens, foundationem Domus sancte Sion cum declaratione [indulgentie ?] ibidem religioni annexe, et bis in anno a deuoto populo frequentate,⁴ papalibus communiit scriptis illustrissimo Regi Henrico Quinto, eiusdem religionis inductori et fundatori, toto regno declarantibus; apud Tystelworthe opus lapideum sanctuarii Sancte Brigide inchoans, sed non consummans, in Uigilia Exaltationis Sancte Crucis⁵ spiritum reddidit in manus Creatoris. Hic dum apud Sanctum Germanum adiuueret, domum recluse fieri ordinauit, cum adiutorio Willelmi Abbatis, Secundi post Conquestum.”

1. Dr. Wylie, *Henry V.*, p. 224, states wrongly that Fishbourn lived at “St. Germain, near Paris”: the passage refers to the chapel of St. Germain at S. Albans. Cf. *Chronicles and Memorials*, no. 28, *Gesta Abbatum Mon. S. Albani*, i, 21, for the foundation of this chapel, and the retirement of Ulpha the prior to it as recluse. For the ex-abbot Eadfrith, who “vitam apud sanctum Germanum solitarium sancte duxit” see *ibid.* *Iohannes Amundesham*, ii, 300, 301. It is not clear why Fishbourn, steward of the abbot of S. Albans, should have needed a dispensation to take priest’s orders. Gascoign, in the *Liber Veritatum*, says that “before his entry into religion he was a great squire, and a devout, in the north of England.”

2. The great Benedictine house in Essex; *Monasticon*, i, 436.

3. Benedictine nunnery at Market Street, Bedfordshire; *ibid.*, iii, p. 369.

4. Sept. 13, 1428.

5. The popular *Sion Pardon*.

As it stands, this passage is obviously an obituary notice of Thomas Fishbourn, styled by the *Martiloge* the first general confessor of Sion, who died at Sion abbey, Isleworth, in September, 1428.¹ The S. Albans chronicler is here giving a brief account of his life, occasioned by the news of his death. He would be likely to be well informed concerning Sion, because Fishbourn had formerly lived as a recluse in the hermitage near the chapel of S. Germain's at S. Albans, because the sub-prior of S. Albans had been one to assist in drawing up the *Additiones* for Sion in 1416,² and because the abbot of S. Albans³ was one of the commission appointed by Martin V in 1418 to make further arrangements concerning Sion, and admit the postulants to profession. The passage is obscured in the Rolls Series by a misreading which describes Matilda Newton as abbess of the nuns of Barking, instead of simply "a nun of Barking," as it stands in the manuscript.⁴ "In the time of William Alnwick the first abbess of Sion, a nun of Barking, was deprived of her dignity by the king, and succeeded in that honour and enclosed state by a nun of Markyate,"—Joan North, as we know from the *Martiloge*.⁵

The fate of Matilda Newton is thus clear—she had been a nun at Barking, probably the largest nunnery in England before the foundation of Sion, and one to which the two Brigittine brothers in search of postulants might well have applied. She was appointed as abbess of Sion by the king, but she was not possessed of sufficient tact to guide the heterogeneous community⁶ at Twickenham in its struggle to perfect its own organisation, and she was deprived of her office by the king. It was not expedient that she should return as a simple nun to Barking; and though she had as yet taken no fresh vows, it was hardly in accordance

1. *Bishop Grey of London's Register*, f. 69, gives the confirmation of the election of Robert Bell, his successor, 30 Sept. 1428.

2. See p. 122.

3. See p. 137.

4. *Harl. MS.* 3775, f. 109.

5. *Addit. MS.* 22,285, f. 2.

6. Her position with regard to the two fully professed Swedish sisters sent "for the instruction of the novices" must have been somewhat anomalous; while her flock consisted of nuns from different orders, and the superior of the men's convent was an aged recluse. See p. 119.

with canonical procedure that one who had aspired to the order of S. Saviour should return to the less strict Benedictine rule. The difficulty was solved by the retirement of Matilda to a reclusory at Barking in May, 1417.¹ It is a coincidence that on August 8 of that year, Henry V founded also a perpetual reclusory at the sister-foundation, the Carthusian house of Bethlehem of Sheen²: the recluse was to have the same sum, 20 marks yearly, paid to him by the prior and convent, that he might be "the more free for orisons and divine praises and holy contemplation": he was to have two servants: the prior was to repair the reclusory: and the grant ended with the penalty by which the recluse might distrain the prior to pay him the yearly 20 marks. The details in Matilda's case are not given, as the grant was merely for life: but the arrangements were probably the same. I have been unable to find any reference to Matilda Newton before she became a nun at Barking: the postulants to so large a house probably came from any part of England where the abbey held land, and her own relationship to John Newton, the York treasurer, remains possible, but unproved.

The identity of William Alnwick, the confessor of Sion, is as obscure and puzzling as that of Matilda Newton. The *Dictionary of National Biography* identifies him with the William Alnwick, LL.D., who was keeper of the Privy Seal in 1423, made in 1426 bishop of Norwich and in 1436 bishop of Lincoln. It states that he was an LL.D. of Cambridge, a Benedictine of S. Albans, the confessor of Henry V and Henry VI, appointed general confessor of Sion in 1415, archdeacon of Sarum in 1420,³ and prior of Wymondham in the same year; he died in 1449, and was buried at Lincoln. This account contains some difficulties: it is unlikely that a Benedictine of S. Albans should have been made keeper of

1. Miss R. M. Clay knows of no other recluse at Barking. Cf. *Henry V*, p. 222.

2. *C.P.R.*, 1416-22, p. 114.

3. Also warden of the hospital of S. James's at Westminster, Dec. 16, 1420; *ibid.*, 1422-9, p. 17.

the Privy Seal, and it is unlikely that a man who in 1415 was considered capable of training in the contemplative life a new monastery of a very strictly enclosed order should have left it in 1420, and become that active and energetic prelate, the bishop of Lincoln.¹ It is also unlikely that a man who did not die till 1449 should have been considered old enough in 1415 to be made the head of a double monastery. Bishop Clifford's register in London contains among the ordinations of secular candidates, 14 March, 1414, this candidate: "Magister Willelmus Alnewyk, in legibus bacallarius, rector ecclesie parochialis de Goldesburgh, Ebor. dioc., per dimissoriam ad titulum beneficii sui, etc." The candidate was ordained subdeacon, and I have not been able to find his ordination to any higher order: (either in Clifford's register,² or in the bishop of Ely's register at the period³ in case Alnwick were ordained from Cambridge. Nor does any mention of him occur in the archbishop of York's register, or in archbishop Chichele's register.) It seems quite possible, however, that the bachelor of law who was made subdeacon, as a secular, in 1414, should have become the "king's clerk" and doctor of law of the *Patent Rolls*; but not that he should have become confessor of Sion a year later. Dr. J. H. Wylie mentions a canon William Alnwick, vicar of Chatton, who was involved in the earl of Northumberland's conspiracy in 1408,⁴ but in face of the entry in Clifford's register, the identity seems doubtful.⁵ Another William Alnwick, who may have caused the idea that the keeper of the privy seal was a Benedictine of S. Albans, is found at S. Albans in

1. Abbot Whethamstede, of S. Albans, cordially detested the bishop of Norwich and Lincoln,—cf. his very bad puns on William Alnwick's name; *Chronicles and Memorials*, no. 28, *Iohannes Amundesham*, i, 364.

2. Which ends in 1420.

3. John Fordham's register exists from 1388-1412, so that the three intermediate years before the foundation of Sion (1412-1415) are missing.

4. *Henry IV*, iii, p. 148. In *Henry V.*, p. 223, note 8, the identity is disavowed.

5. *C.P.R.*, 1413-16, p. 347; 1416-22, pp. 404, 406; 1422-9, pp. 118, etc.,—when he is referred to as keeper of the privy seal. *Ibid.*, 1422-9, p. 226, he is referred to as "secretary and confessor of the late king."

1396,¹ and became subprior² there: he, however, lived continuously at S. Albans, making antiphonars and having the chapel roof mended,³ etc., etc., till long after 1426, when the famous William Alnwick became bishop of Norwich.

In face of these difficulties, it seems best to conclude that William Alnwick, Benedictine of S. Albans, and William Alnwick, doctor of law, were different persons, and that the first became confessor of Sion, the second keeper of the privy seal and bishop of Norwich. This conclusion⁴ is rendered certain by the references in the S. Albans chronicle to Fishbourn, and by some documents relating to Alnwick in the Swedish royal archives.

The S. Albans chronicler states that William Alnwick was a "recluse monk of Westminster,"—a suitable person to govern a house whose inmates were so strictly enclosed, that they were sometimes loosely spoken of as "recluses";⁵ this man was "given the charge of the women," but "at the end of a year, worn out by age and weariness, he returned to his cell." This description fits in with the known difficulties of the community at Sion, and with the share of Thomas Fishbourn in its foundation. The *Sion Martiloge* consistently alludes to Fishbourn as the first confessor; and in recording the list of benefactors for whom six masses were annually celebrated, it mentions first king Henry V, then Fitz Hugh, and thirdly, "the confessor Thomas" (*i.e.* Fishbourn), "because he, being the confessor and counsellor of the king our founder, procured his favour for the founding and endowment of the monastery."⁶ Fishbourn's name occurs in nearly all the early references to Sion, and it was he who actually journeyed to Rome in

1. Newcome's *History of S. Albans*, pp. 277 and 315.

2. *Chronicles and Memorials*, no. 28, *Iohannes Amundesham*, i, 430.

3. *Ibid.*, i, 439, 258; ii, 263, 269, 271, 272, 276; and *Chronicon Rerum Gestarum in Mon. S. Albani*, 1422-31, i, 29, 36.

4. Miss R. M. Clay, in her work on *Hermits*, p. 144, had arrived at this conclusion independently.

5. Cf. *Chronicon Rerum Gestarum in Monasterio S. Albani*, p. 27, the reference to the Sion abbess "cui successit in honorem et reclusionem monialis de Markyate."

6. *Addit. MS.* 22,285, f. 3.

1418 to procure the confirmation of the Brigittine indulgences for Sion:¹ the foundation of the monastery appears to owe more to him than to any other priest, and the Vadstena letter of 18 August, 1418, addressed to the priest who was sheltering the community at Sion "under the special mantle of his protection" was probably intended for him. In 1415 he may not have been considered of sufficient standing to receive the royal appointment,² but in 1420 he was elected as first confessor by the community, which understood his labours on its behalf.³

The relative positions of Alnwick and Fishbourn as confessor nominated and confessor elected are thus clear: but who was William Alnwick, "recluse monk of Westminster"? Information concerning the anchorets or recluses of Westminster occurs in Miss Clay's book on *Hermits*. William Alnwick "was one of a long succession of anchorites connected with the abbey, who dwelt in a cell on the south side of the chancel of S. Margaret's. Nicholas the Hermit occurs as early as 1242-5,⁴ and Richard II visited S. Edward's shrine at Westminster, and confessed himself to the anchoret in 1381."⁵ There is a curious reference to a recluse of Westminster in 1397, and this man may have been Alnwick himself (since the S. Albans chronicler says he died of "old age and weariness" about 1417). Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, when accused of treason, after the execution of the earl of Arundel, was brought before parliament, and confessed that what he had done was by the counsel of the duke of Gloucester and earl of Arundel:⁶

1. As is obscurely stated by the S. Albans chronicler, p. 27.

2. He was a relative of bishop Clifford, of London (Ellis, *Orig. Letters*, Second series, i, p. 91); Gascoign writes: "Cum domino Thoma Fyschbourne, primo confessore generali in monasterio Syon, quem vulgus vocat Scheene; qui confessor, ante introitum in religionem, fuit magnus armiger et devotus in boria Angliae, natus ultra Eboracum, quem ego, Gascoigne vidi, et valde Deo devotum reputavi"; *Loci e Libro veritatum*, p. 170.

3. *Addit. MS.* 22,285, f. 2. See *Henry V*, p. 224.

4. *Pipe Rolls* (Guildhall MS.).

5. Stow, *Chron. of Eng.*, ed. 1631, p. 288.

6. *Eng. Chron.*, Camden Soc., 1856, p. 11.

"trustyng also in the holynes and wisdoun of the Abbot of Saint Albones and of the Recluse of Westmynstre, that saide it was lawfulle that he dede.¹

"Also, the earle of Warwicke was arraigned, and his hood being taken off, and the appeale reade, as hee had been some miserable old woman, confessed all things contained in appeale, weeping, wayling, and howling, to be done trayterously by him . . . sorrowing that euer hee had beene associate unto the appellants. Then the King demanded of him by whom hee was allured to joyne with them, and he answered, by Thomas, duke of Gloucester, and the Abbot of S. Albones, and a Monk recluse in Westminster."²

Coming nearer to the date of the foundation of Sion, it has been suggested that³ William Alnwick of the S. Albans chronicler was the more famous recluse of Westminster, to whom Henry resorted secretly after his father's death. Another chronicler⁴ states that "When the day of the funeral had now ended in weeping and laments, and when the shades of night covered the face of the earth, the tearful prince, hidden by the darkness of the night, went secretly to a certain recluse of perfect life at Westminster, and revealing to him the secrets of his whole life, washed from the font of true penitence, he received the antidote of absolution against the poison he had earlier swallowed; and, casting off the tunic of vices, he returned fairly clad in the mantle of virtues." Henry V founded the houses of Sheen and Sion as an expiation for the sins of his father,—

1. The recluse at Westminster seems thus to have had Lancastrian sympathies in Richard II's reign, and was possibly known to Henry V before his visit on the night of his father's death. It is noticeable that in 1397 the Westminster recluse was acquainted with Thomas Beauchamp, and that the S. Alban's chronicler says Fishbourn attracted royal notice through his acquaintance with "Elizabeth Beauchamp et Alianora Hulle."

2. Stow, *Chron. of England*, ed. 1631, p. 318.

3. Fr. Adam Hamilton. *Order of S. Saviour in England in the Poor Souls' Friend*.

4. *Vita et Gesta Henrici, Quinti*, edit., Hearne, p. 15. Wylie, *Henry V*, p. 197, shews that the author cannot have been Thomas of Elmham, as Hearne held, and that the book was written about 1446.

the murder of Richard II and archbishop Scrope, Fitz Hugh's uncle, and it is possible that the idea of this form of expiation dated from this interview with the recluse.¹ The theory is at any rate plausible and it would be natural that in such a case Henry should appoint as the first confessor of Sion the man who had suggested its foundation, and whose holiness he must have highly esteemed.

The information of the S. Albans chronicler concerning "William Alnwyk, recluse monk of Westminster" is supported by two documents, both of which state that Alnwick was a Benedictine of S. Albans. This explains the S. Albans' chronicler's source of information, and his chatty and obscure reference to Alnwick's appointment to Sion; and though it does not explain how the monk of S. Albans became the "recluse monk of Westminster," there is no *prima facie* difficulty in the retirement of a Benedictine monk, with the permission of his abbot, to any reclusory, particularly to one, as in this case, in another Benedictine house. One of the two documents which refer to Alnwick is the copy of a prologue to the *Additiones*² to the rule of S. Bridget (the "rule of S. Saviour"), and the other a supplica or petition of Henry V to Martin V concerning Sion.

The British Museum manuscript of the *Additiones* is imperfect, the beginning and end being missing, but the present community of Sion possesses a seventeenth century copy of the *Additiones*, drawn up at Lisbon in the course of the wanderings of the community. A Latin prologue gives the names of the religious from Benedictine, Cistercian and Cluniac houses who met, by the command of Henry V, in the inharmonious conference of January 1416, and

1. Or that he recommended carrying out the papal suggestions given to Henry IV. in 1408.

2. The *Additiones* were the regulations drawn up for the guidance of Sion. *Arundel MS.* 146 is a manuscript of these *Additiones* as applying to the sisters, and has been printed in Aungier, p. 249. The MS. must have remained for some time without covers, or unbound, as the first and last folios are much worn, and illegible. Cap. i of the *Additiones* (which Aungier prints from another MS., belonging to the dean and chapter of S. Paul's) is missing.

drew up the *Additiones* for local use at Sion. The prologue¹ states that the *Additiones* were first compiled by Hugh Eyton, sub-prior of S. Albans, a monk from the Cluniac abbey of S. Saviour of Bermondsey, the abbot and prior of the Cistercian abbey of S. Mary of Grace near the Tower of London, the abbot and prior of the Cistercian abbey of S. Mary of Stratford, and "William Anroyte" or "Alnwick," "confessor of the most dreadful prince Henry V, the founder of this monastery." The original compilation of the *Additiones* can thus, if the prologue be genuine, be definitely dated at 1416 by the inclusion of Alnwick's name. The prologue further states that the

1. Most kindly supplied to me by the present lady abbess of Syon Abbey, from the MS. which "has the nuncio's seal attached and . . . is signed by our monks and nuns then alive. The date of this original Latin copy of the Spanish edition of the *Additiones* is 1607."

The Latin copy runs :

"ADDITIONES ET INIUNCTIONES PER EUNDEM ILLUSTRIS-SIMUM DOMINUM COLLECTOREM AD REGULAM, ET CONSTITUTIONES REFORMATAE.

Hic incipiunt Additiones, siue Iniunctiones ex Regulis Beatorum Bernardi, et Benedicti, per quosdam Venerabiles Patres dictorum Ordinum extractae, prout supra, in penultimo siue vicesimo tertio capite Constitutionum Beatae Birgittae praecipitur atq. ordinatur, quae Additiones, 1^o quidem per admodum doctos, atque deuotos uiros uidelicet, D. Hugonem Eyton subpriorem Sancti Albani, D. Gulielmum Anroyt monachum sancti Albani, et confessorem metuendissimi Principis Henrici quinti fundatoris huius monasterij, D. Jacobum Paginham monachum monasterij de Bermondsey iuxta Londonias, D. Johannem Goode Abbatem Monasterij de sancta Maria de gratia iuxta turrim Londiniensem, D. Gulielmum Wymbe Abbatem de sancta Maria de Stratford, D. Johannem Reyfeld, Priorem eiusdem Monasterij, Rogerum Nats, Priorem Monasterij B. Mariae de gratia, etc. collectae, et maturo studio, atque diligentia compilatae, et deinde per reuerendissimum in Christo Patrem Thomam, Episcopum Londiniensem atque huius Monasterij de Sion, diocesenum, siue uisitatorem, examinatae atque approbatae, ac denique ab eodem in sua uisitatione huic Monasterio in perpetuum tenendae, atque observandae sententialiter, et diffinitue, traditae vicesimo die mensis Januarij anno Domini 1473. Nunc autem ad praedictas Beatae Birgittae Constitutiones reformatae, et consequenter ad ipsum Sanctum Concilium Tridentinum per supradictum illum Dominum Fabritium Caracciolum adaptatae, siue conformatae, atque redactae, seu emendatae.

Datum Ulisiponi, die decima nona mensis Decembris MDCVII."

I have not been able to find any confirmation of the list of religious here given, as the *Monasticon* has a hiatus in the list of abbots for each monastery concerned. In connexion with the introduction of a new foreign order at Sion so soon after the confiscation of the lands of alien cells, it is interesting that the Cluniac priory of S. Saviour of Bermondsey had only in 1399 been made an independent abbey.

Additiones were examined in 1473 by Thomas (Kemp), the diocesan, bishop of London, and again examined and re-issued at Lisbon in 1607, in accordance with S. Bridget's constitutions as ratified by the council of Trent.

The mis-spelling "Anroyte" for "Alnwick," probably due to a Spanish scribe, is paralleled in the second document, where Alnwick's name appears as "Alne Wych." Henry V in 1417 addressed a supplica¹ or petition to Martin V to confirm the foundation of Sion abbey, sending it first to Vadstena for the approbation of the parent house. The document is copied in the Swedish royal archives, and in it Henry asks for the papal confirmation of "a monastery, with church, belfry, dwelling place, dormitory, kitchen garden, etc.," for the use of the father and seventeen brothers of the order of S. Saviour, and a similar monastery "near to it, though separate and completely shut off from it" for the use of the mother and sisters, to the number of sixty. Henry V also begged for the papal blessing upon "Willelmum Alne Wych, monachum expresse professum monasterii sancti Albani, Ordinis sancti Benedicti, Lincolnense diocesi in sacerdocio constitutum," and "Matildam Neueyaton monialem expresse professam monasterii de Barking, ordinis sancti Benedicti, dicte Londoniensis diocesis," whom he had nominated as confessor and abbess, or upon those whom the community might elect as confessor and abbess. He asked also that the said William of S. Albans and Matilda of Barking might transfer themselves to the aforesaid monastery of Sion and order of S. Augustine, receive the habit, and make a regular profession,²—a request that shews that the Supplica must have been drawn up before Alnwick's retirement to Westminster. Since Alnwick was a Benedictine of S. Albans, it is natural that the S. Albans chronicler should have information concerning the early years of

1. Printed p. 130—.

2. The Supplica is undated, but occurs in the royal archives among the documents of 1418; it must, however, certainly have been drawn up before 17 May, 1417, when Henry granted Matilda Newton a pension to become a recluse at Barking.

Sion : but it is curious that the Supplica does not mention that Alnwick was at the time living as a recluse. This was perhaps unnecessary when merely permission to transfer from one order to another was required; and the Supplica does contain a hint at Alnwick's residence at Westminster in another place, where it speaks of "William as of S. Albans."¹

It is curious that both Fishbourn and Alnwick should have been recluses, since the cases when a recluse left his cell are very rare, and according to Miss Clay,² are in England almost confined to these instances connected with the foundation of Sion. The S. Albans chronicler states that Fishbourn "had lived as recluse at (the chapel of) S. Germaines," where he had founded a reclusory, and that Alnwick was a recluse of Westminster. One of the original sisters at Sion was the recluse Margaret of Bodmin, whose petition to transfer herself to Sion is contained in bishop Stafford's register. Sister Joan Sewell, who wrote her monogram in the margin of (j), signed herself "Sewella Sionita Reclusa."³ As her name occurs in the *Obit Book*, and among the list of sisters buried "prope gerras" (screen) at Sion, without any special note of her having been a recluse, it is probable that here the word "reclusa" is used to signify merely an enclosed sister. The instances, however, all tend to shew that the enclosure at Sion was considered a particularly strict one at the date; even a Carthusian monk was allowed to transfer himself to Sion.⁴

The identity of William Alnwick with Henry V's recluse cannot be regarded as proved, since another recluse existed simultaneously at Westminster in 1415. The *Sion Marti-loge* includes in its list of benefactors "Dominus Iohannes London Reclusus Westmonasterii," and Henry Lord

1. "Necnon cum Willelmo ut de sancto Albano et Mathilda prefata de Barking"; see p. 133.

2. *Hermits*, p. 141.

3. (j), f. 22.

4. See p. 139.

Scrope who bequeathed a manuscript and the *Incendium* to FitzHugh, bequeathed this recluse 100 shillings in 1415.¹

The retirement of the abbess took place in May, 1417; that of William Alnwick probably after the January conference of 1418. For two years the little community at Sion had no head, and probably the lead was respectively taken by Fishbourn and the Swedish sisters, whose position must have been rather difficult. A letter from Vadstena was addressed on 18 August, 1418² to the English monks intending to enter the Brigittine order. The letter thanks them for the affectionate greetings which the Vadstena convent has received, and expresses surprise "that your fraternities humbly complain concerning some of our sisters, that they somewhat cleave to their own wills, not believing that they have a superior until (the convent) is enclosed :³ and you say, what a right and religious thing it would be, for a monastery to have one head, and this to be sufficient for it; and how monstrous it would be for one body to possess two heads; wherefore you bring forward this question, and put forth arguments as if desiring to be taught: in what manner we appointed our said sisters to dwell with you? Therefore we reply to your most beloved fraternities: that we know them to have been once professed in our order, and to have vowed to obey its priests only, according to the rule of S. Saviour; and because you are not yet, as is said, incorporated in this our order by holy profession, we cannot lawfully constrain them to obey you, for it is by no means reckoned to belong to our authority, but only to the apostolic see, to have power to absolve them from such vows." The letter continues in a tone of gentle expostulation to point out that the English congregation, composed of members of different orders, cannot yet pro-

1. *Foedera* ix, 275: "Item lego domino Johanni, Anachoritae apud Westmonasterium cs. et 1 Par. Pater Noster Geinsid de Gete, quibus utor." The "pair of paternosters" is, of course, a "pair of beads," or rosary, bequeathed by Geinsid. See *Hermits*, p. 112.

2. *Diplomatarium*, iii, 2521.

3. The Swedish sisters did not owe obedience to Fishbourn, who, though at the head of the monastery, was not yet professed.

perly be called "one body"; and to ask the English monks that "if your frailty,—as our own,—cannot patiently support the rule of foreigners, at least treat them with reverence as teachers and equals, for the sake of instructing your novices and for the welfare of the order."

Another letter,¹ sent at the same time to the Swedish brother² who had journeyed to England in charge of the sisters, indicates the difficulty of their position, between his claims and those of the English monks. The letter consoles the Swedish monk for his patience in tribulations, and especially that "for God's sake and the dignity of the order, you bear with equanimity the frailty of our sisters, and rebuke their indiscipline (*insolencias*), in the spirit of meekness; and if they appear to shew curiosity rather than necessity in their confessions, when they leave you and make their confessions to others not professed in the order, this nevertheless we wish that your fraternity would permit, for the sake of increasing greater love between them and the native (sisters). For it is thought better to condescend to the infirmities of the natives, rather than to strive with them as equals, and by exalting yourself to bring harm and the reproach of division to the order."³

But the difficulties of the nascent community gradually cleared. The endowment of the foundation charter of 1415 was supplemented by another large grant in 1416,⁴ and Thomas Fishbourn set out to obtain the papal confirmation of the foundation of Sion, and of various Brigittine indulgences. The Swedish royal archives contain a copy of the instructions of Henry V, "drawn up in the form of supplications in the curial style with the advice of Luke, provincial of the order of S. Saviour"; the supplica is

1. *Diplomatarium*, iii, 2524.

2. Katillus. John Peterson had returned 1416. *Vide supra* p. 99.

3. The *Additions* reckon it a "more grievous default," "If any make confession to any other priest than is assigned her by the general confessor, for she that lurkingly fleeth her proper prelate or curate shriving her to another, not having full power to assoil her, wite she well, for truth, that such confession shall not avail her, nor the penance therefore enjoined her." Aungier, p. 259.

4. See p. 105.

undated, and though evidently drawn up before the news of the retirement of Alnwick and Matilda Newton had reached Sweden, was probably presented afterwards, some time before August 1418. In the supplica Henry asks for the ratification of the foundation of Sion,¹ and of his appointment of William Alnwick and Matilda Newton as father and mother at Sion,² and that they may transfer themselves to the order of S. Saviour, admit to profession either seculars or the religious of any order, and share with the community in the indulgences of the whole order. Henry also asks that the Brigittine rule³ and the canonisation of S. Bridget,⁴ confirmed during the schism, may be respectively confirmed.

In answer Martin V issued at Geneva two bulls, both dated 18 August 1418. One, *Eximie deuocionis*,⁵ printed by Dugdale and Rymer, is addressed to Henry himself, and states that since Henry has devoutly wished to found a monastery of S. Saviour at Sion, and other monasteries of that order in England, and since he has wished to endow Sion with the advowsons of the parish churches of Yeovil and Croston, the pope hereby appropriates and incorporates, annexes and unites these churches in part dower to Sion; directions follow concerning the maintenance of suitable vicars by the abbess of Sion. The other bull, *Integre deuocionis*, was addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, and the abbot of S. Albans, and has been copied in the Swedish royal archives in the text of an open letter of Richard Clifford, bishop of London, publishing the bull to the faithful at the request of the abbess and convent of Sion.⁶ The preface to this bull, about one-fifth of the whole letter, recapitulates the contents of the first bull: "Since in answer to the petition of Henry V we have appropriated and incorporated, annexed and united the parish churches of Yeovil and Croston to Sion, as is more fully set forth in other letters

1. See p. 130

2. See p. 131.

3. See p. 135.

4. See p. 136.

5. *Monasticon*, vi, 544; *Foedera*, ix, 616.

6. Printed p. 136.

of ours''; the remaining four-fifths of the letter cover new ground, the matters which the three recipients of the bull are to arrange, with the papal authority, in connexion with the foundation of Sion. The bull proceeds:

Since¹ the king fears that owing to lack of knowledge, errors may have been committed in the foundation of Sion, or in the manner of the reception of religious to that monastery, or that such may occur in other monasteries of the order which may be founded;

and since² he wishes that the holy See would make provision concerning these and the following matters, namely: the mode of reception, age of reception, etc., of brothers and sisters, the election of an abbess and confessor, celebration of Mass and the divine office, consecrations and ordinations at Sion, the egress of ordinands or ingress of those administering orders, dispensations and relaxations of the rule for the sick, opportunities for secular or regular priests, even of the Carthusian order, to minister to the enclosed at Sion, and the confessions of brothers and sisters, pilgrims and secular persons at Sion;

We³ therefore command that you, or any one or two of you, with the authority of the apostolic See: amend any error in the foundation of Sion, and receive and admit to regular profession those who wish to enter the monastery, that they may then elect an abbess and confessor;

and that you make provision in the aforesaid particulars for the rule and government of Sion, and similar houses;

and that you allow any person of any order of a less strict observance to transfer themselves to the order of S. Augustine, called that of S. Saviour, hold office therein etc., the leave of their superiors not being required;

notwithstanding any constitutions of Boniface VIII, or any other constitutions to the contrary.

1. See p. 138.

2. See p. 139.

3. See p. 140.

In the Swedish records the bull is followed by a statement of the bishop of London that he inspected the bull, found it genuine, and ordered its publication 28 January 1420; and also by a note of the notary public who attested its publication. The fulfilment of the instructions in this bull must have occupied the year 1419, that between its issue and the first profession of the postulant Brigittines at Sion.

The preparations were now complete, and the convent was formally enclosed. "Anno domini M° CCCC° XX° primo die mensis aprilis celebrata erat prima professio ordinis sancti Saluatoris de Sion in regno Anglie, per manus uenerabilis patris domini Henrici Chycheley archiepiscopi. Quo die professi erant uiginti septem sorores, quinque sacerdotes, duo diaconi et quattuor fratres laici."¹ From this day dates the real foundation of the monastery. No record of the ceremony has been preserved either in bishop Clifford's register at London, or in archbishop Chichele's own register,² nor is the confirmation of the election of the first abbess and confessor in the year following. Bishop Clifford of London, however, wrote to Henry V in 1421 as follows: "On Sunday the fyft day of May, I was at youre hows of Sion, and there confermed the eleccions of dame Jhone North, abbesse, and of sire Thomas Fyschburne, my welbelovyd cousin, confessour of youre seyde hows: and the same daye I blessyd and stallyd the foreseyed abbesse: the which persones I truste, by Goddys grace, schal moch profite in that place, in that holy company bothe of men and of women, the whiche God of his mercy graunte."³

This ceremony completed the foundation of Sion abbey. The next year the king transferred to Sion his manor of Isleworth,⁴ and in 1426 the duke of Bedford laid the foundation stone of the permanent buildings of Sion, bestowing

1. *Addit. MS.* 22,285, f. 14. For the form for the profession of Brigittines in Arch. Chichele's pontifical, see *York Pontifical*, pp. xli, xlii.

2. Both these registers are kept very methodically, and exclude all but certain classes of entries. The contemporary registers at Ely contain more casual information.

3. Ellis, *Orig. Letters*, 2nd Series, i, p. 91.

4. See *Rot. Parl.*, iv, 395.

at the same time a gold ring on each sister of the first profession. The first buildings had been situated in the parish of Twickenham; the second in the parish of Isleworth, on the site now occupied by the mansion of the duke of Northumberland, immediately opposite to Kew Gardens.¹ Hither the community removed, with much ceremony, and accompanied by two archbishops and many bishops, in 1431, and here they remained till the dissolution. The *Martiloge* itself seems to have been written about this date, shortly after the removal of the convent to Isleworth, and certainly in the time of Robert Bell, the successor to Fishbourn, and second confessor of Sion. The *Additions* to the rule, which had caused such difficulties in 1415 and 1416, were probably revised by Fishbourn, who wrote to Vadstena for information on the subject on more than one occasion.² It is probable, however, that in their present form, as embodied in the various MSS.³ from which Aungier printed them in his history, they date from about 1431,—the period of the *Martiloge*. They are themselves of sufficient interest as furnishing details of the daily life at Sion to give an excuse for an effort to investigate the foundation of the community.

1. See map in Aungier, p. 136; also p. 52.

2. *Diarium*, p. 69.

3. Chiefly from *Arundel MS.* 146; Aungier, p. 243.

APPENDIX.

(I) SUPPLICA OF HENRY V FOR THE CONFIRMATION OF HIS FOUNDATION OF SION ABBEY, PRESENTED BEFORE 18 AUGUST 1418.¹

Beatissime pater, exponitur Sanctitati uestre pro parte deuotissimi filii Henrici Anglie et Francie regis illustris, quod ipse zelo Dei accensus ad hec, Ordinarii loci et dominorum religiosorum sanctarum Marie Uirginis et Brigide in Uadstena, ordinis sancti Augustini sancti Saluatoris nuncupati, Lincopense diocesi, ad hoc speciale et sufficiens mandatum habencium, accidente assensu, quoddam monasterium, cum ecclesia, cimiterio, campanile, campana, domibus, habitacionibus, lectis, lectisternis, ortis, curiis, orteliciis, aliisque utensilibus et officinis necessariis pro habitacione patris et decem et septem fratrum atque octo conuersorum, secundum formam et modum aliorum monasteriorum dicti ordinis in eodem pro tempore degencium; necnon aliud monasterium eidem monasterio contiguum, licet separatim et ab alio omnino diuisum, eciam cum domibus, habitacionibus, curia, claustro, ortis, ortelliciis, lectis, lectisternis, utensilibus, et aliis officinis necessariis pro habitacione matris et monialium atque conuersarum usque ad numerum sexaginta personarum, in suo regno atque dominio, loco dicto de Istilworth, Londoniense diocesi, fundari, erigi, construi atque perfici pulchre et honeste fecit, ipsaque monasteria in loco de Sion imposterum ab omnibus nuncupati uoluit et mandauit;

prefatamque ecclesiam atque monasteria, tam pro patre et fratribus quam eciam pro matre et monialibus, tam ad cantandum cum nota quam ad legendum libris paramentis, calicibus, turibulis et aliis ornamentis ecclesiasticis diuino cultui necessariis ut plurimum decorauit et honeste ornauit;

1. See p. 127. Printed from MS. A. 26, Royal Archives, Stockholm.

necnon tam pro uita huiusmodi patris fratrum conuersorum et matris monialium atque conuersarum presencium et pro tempore existencium, de bonis sibi a Deo collatis sufficienter habundequae et honeste dotatauit.

Quia uero idem rex ex maxima cordis deuocione cupit deuotum oratorem Willelmum Alne Wych (Alnwick), monachum expresse professum monasterii sancti Albani, ordinis sancti Benedicti, Lincolniense diocesi in sacerdocio constitutum, ut plurimum apparetur Deo deuotum, in prefato monasterio de Sion in patrem, et deuotam oratricem Matildam Neueyaton, (Newton) monialem expresse professam monasterii de Barking, ordinis sancti Benedicti, Londoniensis diocesis, ex eo quia tam in sua indutate¹ quam in huiusmodi monasterio, bene, humiliter et deuote, piis operibus, institit in matrem ipsius monasterii, quosque secundum regulam et instituta consecrari siue benedici;

atque ipsi Willelmus et Matilda, uel alii in confessorem et abbatisam secundum eadem instituta electi, in eisdem monasteriis de Sion deputi, eligi, deputari, ipsumque Willelmum de sancto Albano, et prefatam Matildam de Barking, monasteriis ipsis atque ordinibus, licencia suorum superiorum petita licet non obtenta, ad sepedicta monasteria de Sion prefatumque ordinem sancti Augustini se transferre, habitum sumere, regularem professionem emittere et in eisdem perpetuo Deo famulari, fundacionemque ereccionem, construccionem, decoracionem, ornacionem atque dotacionem, et alia exinde quocumque secuta auctoritate apostolica communiri atque confirmari, atque alias in premissis necessariis et oportunis sibi regi de munificencia sedis apostolice consulere, pro parte ipsius regis humiliter atque deuote supplicatur,

quatenus deuocionem, ereccionem, construccionem, decoracionem, ornacionem, dotacionem, et omnia alia et

1. The "clothing" of a nun. For this use of "induo," cf. *Magnum Bullarium Romanum*, Luxemburg, 1727; i, 316.

singula inde secuta, suppletes omnes defectus, si qui forsitan interuenerint, in eisdem rata habentes et grata ea de plenitudine potestatis ex certa sciencia confirmari, communire et approbare; necnon cum Willelmo ut de sancto Albano, et Matilda prefata de Barking monasteriis ordinibus sepedictis, ad ipsa monasteria de Sion, ordinis sancti Augustini sancti Saluatoris nuncupati, se transferre, habitum sumere, regularem professionem per fratres et moniales secundum instituta dicti ordinis emitti consuetam emittere, et in eisdem perpetuo remanere, atque cum Willelmo et Matilda prefatis ut de quibuscumque monasteriis conuentibus, ordinibus et locis eciam mendicantibus, patris uel rectoris obseruancie personas religiosas professas et non professas, eciam defectus etatis patientes secundum institutis huiusmodi, et tam mares quam feminas, suorum superiorum licencia petita non obtenta, quam eciam laicos uel personas seculares cuiuscumque status, gradus et dignitatis, dummodo aliud canonicum non obsistat, laudabilisque uite et honeste conuersacionis fuerint, pro augmento fratrum et religiosarum huiusmodi, defectuque personarum de presenti habencium, quosque monasteria ipsa de Sion numerum personarum dumtaxat obtineant, mares in fratres et feminas in moniales libere recipere et licite retinere ualeant; statuta et consuetudines dictorum ordinum, monasteriorum et locorum de quibus dicte persone se transferent, necnon constituta et ordinationes apostolici ac ipsius sancti Augustini sancti Saluatoris nuncupati ordinis regule et constituta, dignemini graciose de speciali dispensare.

Et quod Willelmus pater et monaci ac conuersi presentes, ac Matilda mater et moniales et conuerse ipsorum monasteriorum in loco de Sion presentes, atque tam patres quam matres, monachi et moniales, conuersi et conuerse, qui uel que pro tempore erunt, omnibus et singulis indulgenciis, indultis, libertatibus, immunitatibus, atque exempcionibus, quibus confessores atque abbatisse aut patres uel matres dicti ordinis, in quibuscumque monasteriis

siue locis constitutis, gauderent, seu quolibet potiuntur gaudere possint, ualeant et libere et licite debeant licenciam concedere dignemini de gracia speciali, constitucionibus et ordinacionibus apostolicis, statutis et consuetudinibus monasteriorum, conuentuum, locorum et ordinum predictorum ceterisque non obstantibus quibuscumque, et cum clausulis oportunis.

Item pro parte ipsius Henrici Regis sanctitati uestre humiliter et deuote supplicatur, quatenus moderno episcopo Londoniensi uel pro tempore existenti, ut cum personis utriusque sexus cuiuslibet ipsorum monasteriorum in loco de Sion nuncupatorum, super omnibus et singulis casibus eciam sedi apostolice reseruatis, necnon quibuscumque censuris et penis, quibus persone ipse aut ipsarum aliqua forsitan ligate essent missas et alia diuina officia, non tamen in contemptu clauium, celebrando uel miscendo se illis contraxerunt, et presentes quoque persone ipsorum monasteriorum, qui pro tempore erunt, ipsis tamen prius ad tempus de quo secundum regulam ipsius ordinis et eidem episcopo indebitur a suorum ordinum execucione suspensis, iniuncta que eisdem personis et earum cuilibet pro modo culpe penitencia salutari et aliisque de iure fuerunt iniungenda, super quibus moderni episcopi Londoniensis, et eciam pro tempore existentis conscienciam oneramus eadem auctoritate dispensare ualeat. Et eciam omnem inhabilitatis et infamie maculam siue notam, per ipsas aut ipsarum aliquam quacumque de causa contractam, aboleat, ipsasque et ipsarum alteram in pristinum statum reponere ualeat, concedere dignemini facultatem de gracia speciali, statutis et consuetudinibus ac regula ipsius ordinis, necnon constitucionibus et ordinacionibus apostolicis ceterisque contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Item, beatissime pater, cum dudum regulas sanctarum Marie Uirginis et Brigide in Uadstena, ordinis sancti Augustini sancti Saluatoris nuncupatai, a Deo celitus data, olim a quodam Urbano VI pro Romano pontifice in sua obediencia nun-

cupato, per modum constitutionum ratificata et approbata fuerit, prout de constitutionibus huiusmodi dicitur plenius constare, sed quia tempore pestiferi scismatis approbata et ratificata fuit, idem rex ab intimis cordis ad obstruendum ora loquencium omnia premissa auctoritate apostolica de nouo ratificati et approbati desiderat, pro parte eiusdem Henrici Regis sanctitati uestre humiliter et deuote supplicatur,

quatenus regulam predictam iuxta constitutionem ipsam, necnon omnia et singula concessionem, libertates, immunitates, indulgentias, priuilegia, indulta atque exempciones per quoscumque Romanos pontifices aut pro Romanis pontificibus se gerentes, seu quauis alios et quacumque auctoritate concessos seu concessa, predicti ordinis monasteriis et locis ubicumque constitutis quorum tenores dignetur hic habere pro sufficienter ac uerbotenius insertis, et que tam regule quam constitutionibus ipsius ordinis sancti Saluatoris nuncupati non obuiant seu expresse non contradicent, de nouo et munificencia apostolice sedis atque plenitudine potestatis ratificare et probare atque ex certa sciencia ex speciali gracia confirmare; necnon omnia et singula priuilegia, indulta, libertates, immunitates, indulgentias, atque exempciones huiusmodi ordini siue monasteriis et locis, ac personis dicti ordinis quorumcumque auctoritate seu quibuscumque auctoritatibus indulta uel indulgenda, ad omnia et singula ipsius ordinis personas, loca et monasteria, tam fundata et erecta quam fundanda et erigenda, extendere et ampliare dignemini de gracia speciali, constitutionibus et ordinacionibus apostolicis, necnon ipsius ordinis regula statuta et consuetus et aliis contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque, et cum clausulis oportunis.

Item pro tempore ipsius Henrici regis humiliter et deuote supplicatur, quatenus omnibus et singulis confessoribus et abbatibus, necnon ipsius ordinis patribus et matribus in quibuscumque monasteriis siue locis constitutis pro tempore existentibus, accedente tamen assensu suorum conuentuum, uidelicet monasteriorum et locorum in quibus

preessent, condere facultatem et plenam potestatem recipiendi et acceptandi ad confraternitatem suam, secundum instituta dicti ordinis, quascumque personas tam seculares quam spirituales utriusque sexus cuiuscumque status, gradus, condicionis, dignitatis et preeminencie existentur, ipseque persone ad huiusmodi confraternitatem, ut consuetum est, recepte, omnium bonorum spiritualium indulgentiarum, oracionum et aliorum piorum operum participes existant, que assidue in dictis monasteriis seu locis ad Dei laudem fiunt, quandocumque confessoribus et abbatissis aut patribus et matribus in prefatis monasteriis siue locis pro tempore existentibus, et tam presentibus quam futuris, a quibuscumque personis cuiuscumque eciam preheminencie gradus, status, dignitatis, condicionis uel religionis existant, eciam utriusque sexus; quascumque reliquias sanctorum eis uel cuilibet ipsorum gracie oblatas atque exhibitas, absque tamen aliqua illicita paccione uel simoniaca prauitate, recipere et retinere et in eisdem monasteriis siue locis honeste collocare ualeant et debeant licenciam, dignemini concedere graciose de gracia speciali, constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis et aliis contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque, et cum clausulis oportunis.

Item, beatissime pater, cum de uita et gestis, piis operibus atque miraculis sancte Brigide, per eam tam dum in humanis agebat quam tempore sue mortis quam eciam post mortem, ad instanciam nonnullorum Christi fidelium, tempore pontificis quoddam Bonifacii Pape IX in sua obediencia nuncupati, facta esset commissio nonnullis cardinalibus, siue pro cardinalibus se gerentes, et ceteris aliis prelatiis super huiusmodi uita, gestis, piis operibus atque miraculis, ipsique cardinales, habita informacione de premissis et consideratis ipsius sancte Brigide gaudiis, uirtutibus, meritis, piis operibus atque quam pluribus aliis miraculis, tempore huiusmodi informacionis et eidem Bonifacio facta relatione de premissis, ipse Bonifacius, premissa pie considerans, ipsam sanctam Brigidam fore sanctam et in cathalogo aliorum sanctorum et sanctarum Dei fore

describendam declarauit atque canonizandam decreuit; necnon solempniter seruatis seruandis ipsamque sanctam Brigidam canonizauit; quia uero ipsa canonizacio tempore pestiferi scismatis celebrata extitit, ad obstruendum ora nonnullorum os loquencium, Idem rex, ex ardenti caritate atque deuocione eidem sancte Brigide affectus, supplicat humiliter et deuote, quatenus declaracionem atque canonizacionem huiusmodi, ut prefertur, factas, et omnia alia inde secuta, rata habentes et grata supplentes omnes defectus si qui forsitan interuenerint in eisdem, apostolica auctoritate de plenitudine potestatis ex certa sciencia approbare, communire atque confirmare dignemini de gracia speciali, constitucionibus et ordinacionibus apostolicis et aliis contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque, et cum clausulis oportunis.

(A tergo: Copia Instruccionis domini nostri regis concepta in supplicationes secundum stilum curie, et cum consensu seu concilio domini Luce, prouincialis tocius ordinis sancti Saluatoris in mundo. JO. FORSTER.)

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- (2) BULL OF MARTIN V, DATED GENEVA, 18 JULY 1418, CONFIRMING THE FOUNDATION OF SION ABBEY, AND APPOINTING A COMMISSION TO AMEND ANY ERRORS IN THE FOUNDATION, ETC., WITH THE PREFACE OF THE BISHOP OF LONDON.¹

Littera domini Richardi, episcopi Londoniensis, Anglie delegati super commissionem supra facta a Martino papa eciam super reformacionem monasterii de Sion, ordinis sancti Saluatoris, in Anglia.

Uniuersis sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos et quorum noticiam presentes littere et contenta in eisdem peruenerint, Richardus, permissione diuina Londoniensis Episcopus ac certarum litterarum apostolicarum inferius descriptarum executor siue delegatus, sub forma infrascripta, una cum

1. See pp. 127-9. Printed from MS. A. 23, f. 117-119b, Royal Archives, Stockholm.

aliis collegis nostris infrascriptis, cum illa clausula quatinus, uos uel duo aut unus uestrum etc, a sede apostolica specialiter deputatus, salutem, gratiam et benedictionem, et fidem indubiam de subscriptis adhibere. Uniuersatis uestre noticie deducimus per presentes, quod pro parte abbatisse et conuentus monasterii de Sion, ordinis sancti Saluatoris nuncupati, nostre Londoniensis diocesis, quedam littere apostolice sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini, nostri domini Martini, diuina prouidencia Pape quinti, more Romane curie bullate, quarum tenor infrascibitur, fuerunt et sunt coram nobis iudicialiter exhibite, et nobis pro parte eorundem abbatisse et conuentus dicti monasterii de Sion instanter extitit supplicatum,

ut cum dicti abbatissa et conuentus in diuersis mundi partibus non modice ab inuicem distantibus dictas litteras apostolicas, quas non habent, ut asseritur, duplicatas, presentare et exhibere, et eis uti, necesse habeant, possentque huiusmodi littere apostolice originales dum pro illarum presentatione, exhibicione et usu huiusmodi portarentur, propter et per uiarum discrimina marisque periculum et alios diuersos casus et aduersos, qui frequenter accidunt, uerisimiliter deperire, dictique abbatissa et conuentus prefati monasterii de Sion, propter huiusmodi litterarum apostolicarum difficilem aut forsan impossibilem exhibicionem simul et semel in diuersis mundi partibus ab inuicem distantibus, ut prefertur, faciendam, graue dampnum incurrere possent et iacturam, quatenus huiusmodi litteras apostolicas originales palpare, inspicere et diligenter examinare curaremus, et si ipsas litteras apostolicas sic inspectas et examinatas inueniremus non abolitas, non cancellatas, nec in aliquibus earum partibus suspectas, auctoritate nostra per notarium publicum subscriptum transumi, exemplari, subscribique et in publicam formam redigi, mandare et facere dignaremur; ut huiusmodi transumpto sicuti ipsis litteris apostolicis originalibus fides indubia adhibenda ualent, ubilibet in agendo ipsarum uero litterarum apostolicarum totus et uero tenor sequitur, et est talis.

Martinus Episcopus, Seruus seruorum Dei, uenerabilibus fratribus archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, et episcopo Londoniensi, ac dilecto filio Abbati monasterii de sancto Albano, Lincolnensis diocesis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Integre deuotionis et sinceritatis affectus quem carissimus in Christo filius noster Henricus, rex Anglie illustris, ad nos et Romanam gerit ecclesiam promeretur ut uotis suis, illis presertim que sacre religionis et diuini cultus augmentum respiciunt, fauorabiliter annuamus, hodie siquidem pro parte dicti regis nobis exposito quod ipse inter alia monasteria et loca religiosa in regno Anglie per eum fundata, uenerabile monasterium de Sion, ordinis sancti Augustini sancti Saluatoris nuncupati, Londoniensis diocesis, pro una abbatissa que ipsi monasterio de Sion pro tempore preesse deberet, et uno confessore ac aliis utriusque sexus personis inibi pro tempore, religiose sub regula et secundum instituta sancte Brigitte perpetuo domino seruituris solempniter sumptuoseque in Dei omnipotentis laudem, diuini cultus augmentum, religionisque propagacionem ac pro sue et progenitorum suorum diuine memorie Anglie regum animarum salutem, fundauerat, et erigi fecerat; nonnulla eciam alia eiusdem ordinis monasteria et loca Dei sic Dei propicio fundare et dotare proponeret, ac pro parte eiusdem regis nobis humiliter supplicato, et fundacionem et ereccionem predictas apostolica auctoritate ratificare et approbare, ac sibi huiusmodi alia monasteria et loca eiusdem ordinis fundandi et dotandi licenciam concedendi, necnon de Yeuele¹ et de Croston, ² Wellensis et Lichefeldensis diocesum, parochiales ecclesias, quarum ius patronatus, quod ad ipsum regem pertinere dinoscitur, idem rex ad hoc libere donare paratus erat, cum omnibus iuribus et pertinenciis suis, in parte dotis eidem monasterio de Sion, quod nondum dotatum erat; et quod ipse rex, domino concedente, ulterius de bonis suis sufficienter dotare intendebat: appropriare et inperpetuum incorporare et unire, de benignitate apostolica dignaremur.

1. Yeovil, Somerset.

2. Lancashire.

Nos tunc, huiusmodi ipsius regis pium et laudabile propositum plurimum in domino commendantes, eius in ea parte supplicationibus inclinati, fundacionem et ereccionem predictas auctoritate apostolica per alias nostras litteras ratificauimus et approbauimus, ac sic huiusmodi alia monasteria et loca dicti ordinis fundandi et dotandi plenam licenciam concessimus; dictasque de Yeuele et de Croston parochiales ecclesias, cum omnibus iuribus et pertinenciis suis, eidem monasterio de Sion in subsidium et partem dotis huiusmodi eadem auctoritate appropriauimus et incorporauimus, anneximus et uniuimus, prout in ipsis litteris plenius continetur.

Cum itaque sicut exhibita nobis pro parte eiusdem regis peticio continebat de institutis et ordinacionibus ac aliis circumstanciis et modis uiuendi in dicto ordine obseruandis, cum ipsum monasterium de Sion primarium in eodem regno existat plena et perfecta sciencia usque modo in regno ipso non habeatur, ipseque rex timeat circa huiusmodi fundacionem et ereccionem dicti monasterii de Sion, seu eius loci dedicacionem aut personarum utriusque sexus ad ipsum monasterium receptarum modum recepcionis, uel alias errores seu defectus commissos fore, uel in futurum circa alia per eum, domino concedente, fundanda monasteria et loca huiusmodi, quod absit, committi posse; desideretque propterea tam circa premissa quam circa modum: fratres et sorores, et in qua etate ad professionem, in dicto et aliis fundandis et dotandis monasteriis et locis, recipiendi et admittendi: abbatissam quoque et confessorem eiusdem monasterii de Sion pro tempore eligendi: ac missas et alia diuina officia, et quo tempore, celebrandi; necnon circa benedicciones, consecraciones et ordinum ministraciones, in eisdem de Sion et aliis fundandis et dotandis monasteriis et locis, pro tempore fiendis; et circa fratres pro tempore ordinandos, eorumque pro ordinibus suscipiendis egressum, seu ordinare, benedicere aut consecrare debencium ingressum, monasteriorum et locorum huiusmodi; necnon circa dispensaciones, laxaciones et moderaciones obseruancie

regularis, et continuacionis chori pro debilibus et impotentibus, aut cantare nescientibus, aut alias ad talia non ualentibus : oportunas consciencie confessoris existentis pro tempore committendas : circa ministros quoque et familiares et procuratores seculares uel religiosos cuiuscunque, eciam preterquam Cartusiensis fuerint ordinis, ad ministrandum et obsequendum inclusis et aliis personis in de Sion et aliis fundandis et dotandis monasteriis et locis huiusmodi pro tempore degentibus; necnon circa modum confessiones dictorum fratrum et sororum, ac aliorum extraneorum, ad predicta monasteria et loca peregrinacionis aut deuocionis causa pro tempore declinancium, audiendi, et confessis beneficium absolucionis, eciam in casibus in quibus minores penitentiarii sedis apostolice absoluere solent et possunt, impendendi : ac omnia et singula alia circa premissa necessaria per eandem sedem salubriter prouideri ;

Nos, deuotis eiusdem regis desideriis in hac parte fauorabiliter annuentes, discrecioni uestre, de qua in hiis et aliis specialem in domino fiduciam obtinemus, per apostolica scripta committimus et mandamus, quatenus uos, uel duo aut unus uestrum, consideratis diligenter que circa regulam predictam et alias in premissis fuerint attendenda errores et defectus, si quos per negligenciam seu ignoranciam in premissis uel circa ea seu ipsorum aliqua commissos repperitis, auctoritate nostra suppleatis et reformatis; ac a fratribus et sororibus ipsius monasterii de Sion, et aliis ipsum monasterium intrare uolentibus, hac prima uice professionem regularem, per fratres et sorores eiusdem ordinis emitti consuetam, si eam sponte facere uoluerint, recipiatis : et eos admittatis ad eandem; ipsisque fratribus et sororibus ut abbatissam et confessorem eiusdem monasterii pro tempore rite eligere possint et ualeant, eadem auctoritate concedatis.

Nos insuper uobis seu cuilibet uestrum circa omnia et singula premissa, et quecunque alia que circa statum, regimen, et gubernacionem, tam dicti de Sion quam fundandorum et erigendorum monasteriorum et locorum huiusmodi, et

personarum pro tempore degencium in eisdem, expediencia, utilia seu necessaria fuerint, iuxta dicti regis pium et iustum propositum, disponendi, ordinandi, statuendi, indulgendi et dispensandi, de ea que disposueritis, ordinaueritis, statueritis, indulseritis et dispensaueritis, firmiter obseruari faciendi, contradictores quoque et rebelles quoslibet per censuram ecclesiasticam compescendi; necnon cum quibuscunque utriusque sexus personis cuiuscunque ordinis, laxioris tamen obseruancie fuerint, usque ad numerum de quo uobis et eidem regi expedire uidebitur, ut de monasteriis et aliis locis in quibus professe fuerint ad de Sion et alia fundanda et erigenda monasteria et loca huiusmodi, postquam dotata fuerint, transire: et in eis dictum ordinem sancti Augustini profiteri: et in habitu ac aliis institutis regularibus se conformare: et perpetuo remanere: ac quecunque dignitates eciam abbaciales ac administraciones, et officia eiusdem ordinis, si alias eis canonice preficiantur, ut ad ea eligantur regere, gubernare et tenere, suorum superiorum aut cuiuscunque alterius licencia ad hoc minime requisita, libere et licite possint, licenciam concedendi; plenam et liberam concedimus tenore presencium facultatem; non obstantibus tam felicitis recordacionis Bonifacii Pape octauí predecessoris nostri quam aliis quibuscunque constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis, ac bone memorie Ottonis et Ottoboni olim in dicto regno apostolice sedis legatorum; necnon statutis et consuetudinibus predictis; et aliorum quorumcunque ordinum presertim monasteriorum et locorum que huiusmodi persone, quibus ad dictum ordinem sancti Augustini transeundi licenciam concesseritis, exiueritis, contrariis, iuramento confirmacione apostolica uel quacunque firmitate alia roboratis, et aliis contrariis quibuscunque; seu si aliquibus communiter uel diuisim a sede apostolica sit indultum, quod interdicti, suspendi, uel excommunicari, seu ad iudicium euocari non possint, per litteras apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam, ac de uerbo ad uerbum de indulto huiusmodi, ac eorum monasteriis, locis et ordinibus, ac nominibus propriis, mencionem. Datum Gebennis

XV Kalendis Septembris, Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

Nos uero Richardus Londoniensis Episcopus, ac executor seu delegatus apostolicus antedictus, attendentes supplicationem huiusmodi fore iustam et consonam rationi atque iuri, dictas litteras apostolicas originales in notarii publici et tescium subscriptorum presencia palpauimus, inspeximus et diligenter examinauimus et quia ipsas litteras non abolitas, non cancellatas, nec in aliquibus earum partibus uiciatas aut suspectas, sed sanas et integras, ac omni uicio et suspicione sinistra carentes, inuenimus; et ne parti dicte abbatisse et conuentus, propter casus predictos, aut aliquem eorundem, dampnum uel preiudicium aliquid in posterum generetur, ad omnem iuris effectum qui exinde sequi poterit aut debeat, nostris auctoritate et decreto ipsas litteras apostolicas publicauimus, ac per notarium publicum subscriptum transumi, transcribi, et in hoc publicam formam redigi et exemplificari, ac signo et nomine solitis et consuetis ipsius notarii publici mandauimus et fecimus consignari. Cuius transcripto, sicuti ipsis litteris apostolicis originalibus supradictis, fidem plenam adhibendum fore inposterum, in quantum de iure possumus, decreuimus et decernimus ubilibet in agendis. In quorum omnium et singulorum premissorum fidem et testimonium, presenti publico instituto, una cum notarii publici subscripti signi consueti appositione, sigillum nostrum presentibus apponi fecimus. Data et acta sunt hec in palacio nostro in ciuitate nostra Londoniensi situato, uicesimo octauo die mensis ianuarii. Anno domini secundum cursum et computacionem Ecclesie anglicane M^o CD^o XX^o. Indiccione quartadecima. Pontificatus dicti sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini, nostri domini Martini Pape quinti predicti, anno quarto. Presentibus uenerabilis uiris magistro Nicola Bildeston,¹ legum doctore, domino Iohanne Ridere² et Iohanne Sudbury,³ ecclesie Londoniensis canonicis, Norwicensis diocesis

1. Cf. *Fasti*, ii, 616.

2. Preb. of Wildland; *ibid.*, ii, 448.

3. Preb. of Bromesbury; *ibid.*, ii, 363.

et pluribus aliis testibus ad premissa uocatis specialiter et rogatis.

Et ego Iacobus Cole, clericus Norwicensis diocesis, publicus auctoritate Apostolica notarius, premissis omnibus singulis dum sic ut premittitur per reuerendi in Christo patrem et dominum, dominum Ricardum Dei gracia Londoniensem episcopum, executorem seu delegatum apostolicum supradictum, et coram eo sub anno indiccione pontificatu, mense, die et loco in fine presentis instrumenti superius, plenius descriptis agebantur et fiebant, una cum testibus prenominatis, presens personaliter interfui, eaque omnia et singula ac prefatas litteras apostolicas originales superius descriptas fieri, uidi, et audiri, ipsasque litteras apostolicas ex decreto et mandato dicti reuerendi patris transumpsi, transcripsi, exemplauui, ac per alium me aliis negociis prepedito, suprascripta scribi feci, publicaui et in hanc publicam formam redegi, meisque signo et nomine consuetis signaui, ac manu mea propria me hic subscripsi, rogatus et requisitus, in fidem et testimonium omnium et singulorum premissorum.

LIBER QUI UOCATUR INCENDIUM AMORIS, SECUNDUM RICARDUM HAMPULL.¹

PROLOGUS.

Admirabar magis quam enuncio quando siquidem sentiui f. 63 cor meum primitus incalescere, et uere non imaginarie,² quasi sensibile igne estuare. Eram equidem³ attonitus quemadmodum eruperat ardor in animo, et de insolito solacio propter inexperienciam huius abundancie: sepius pectus meum si forte esset feruor ex aliqua exteriori causa palpitauit.⁴ Cumque cognouissem quod ex interiori solummodo efferbuisset, et non esset a carne illud incendium amoris, et concupiscencia, in qua continui,⁵ quod donum esset Conditoris, letabundus liquefactus sum in affectum⁶ amplioris dileccionis, et precipue propter influenciam delectacionis⁷ suauissime et suauitatis interne que cum ipso caumate⁸ spirituali mentem meam medullitus irrorauit.⁹ Prius enim quam infunderetur in me calor ille consolatorius et in omni deuocione dulcifluus, non putauit penitus talem ardorem aliquibus euenire in hoc exilio¹⁰: nam ita inflammat animam meam ac si ignis elementaris ibi arderet.¹¹ Nequaquam, ut quidam aiunt, aliquos in amore Christi ardentis quia uident illos cum diligencia et contemptu

1. From (j), = Emmanuel College, Cambridge, MS. 35. For lack of continuity in foliation of the text, see p. 63. The spelling in the text is normalised. 2. So all MSS. except (j) and (y). 3. (j)(a) "siquidem." 4. (a)(e)(h)(k) "palpauit." 5. ((a)(j)(y) "compertus sum." 6. (a)(w) "affectus." 7. (w) "dileccionis." 8. cf. *Iob* 30, 30, Vulgate, edition of Clement VIII, to which references are given throughout. Literal quotations only are printed in italics: these are found underlined with great uniformity in the long text MSS. 9. (i) "irrotauit." 10. "Admirabar . . . in hoc exilio" is quoted in Rolle's office. "Ita et sanctus heremita Ricardus in libro suo primo de Incendio Amoris . . . narrat. In libro suo predicto sic ait: "Admirabar amplius . . . exilio." *York Breviary*. Surtees Soc. No. 75, p. II., col. 785. 11. (i) (j) "ardesceret."

mundi ad diuina seruicia mancipatos, sed sicut si digitus in igne poneretur feruorem indueret sensibilem, sic animus amare quemadmodum predixi succensus, ardorem sentit ueracissimum, aliquando minorem intensiorem uel maiorem, aliquando minorem prout carnis fragilitas permittit. Quis enim in corpore mortali estum illum in suo summo gradu, prout hec uita patitur, continue existentem diu tolleraret¹? Deficere denique oporteret pre dulcedine et magnitudine superferuidi affectus et inestimabilis utique ardoris,² et nimirum hoc auide amplecteretur atque ardentissimo exoptaret³ anhelitu, ut in ipso mentis muneribus mirificis mellite⁴ incendio animam exalans, moreretur migrans e mundo, et captus statim in⁵ consorcium canencium laudes creatori. Sed occurrunt quedam caritati contraria, quia obrepunt sordes carnis et temptant tranquillos. Necessitas quoque corporalis atque affectiones humanitas⁶ impresse, erumpuosique exilii anguscie ardorem ipsum interpolant, et flammam quam sub metaphora ignem appellauit, eo quod urit et lucet, mitigant et molestant. Non utique auferunt
 f. 63b quod auferri non poterit, quia cor totum inuoluit; et propter talia feruor ille felicissimus, ad tempus absens, apparet, et ego quasi frigidus remanens donec redeat mihi, uideor desolatus, dum sensum illum ignis interni, cui cuncta corporis et spiritus applaudunt, et in quo segura se sciunt,⁷ non habeo ut solebam.

Insuper et sompnus mihi obstat uelut inimicus, quod nullum tempus me ingemisco amittere preter illud quo dormicioni cogor indulgere. Euigilans⁸ uero animam meam tanquam frigiditate tenebratam calefacere conor, quam in deuocione defecatam⁹ scio incendi, et ingenti nimirum desiderio supra terrigenas eleuari. Non enim in

1. cf. the lyric X, Horstman i, 76. "The flawne of lufe wha myght it thole, if it war ay 1-lyke? and cf. pp. 249, 271. 2. (g) (j) (w) "inestimabilis amoris." (c) "inestimabilis utique amoris." 3. The short texts (i) (j) (y) "exortat." 4. (k) (h) (w) "mellito." 5. (f) "Intraret." 6. (a) (f) (g) (w) "humanitatus." 7. (a) "scirent." (d) "scio," erased. 8. The remainder of the Prologue forms the "spurious prologue" to Bonaventura's *De Triplici Via* (or *Incendium Amoris*). See introduction, p. 51; and *Opera S. Bonaventurae*, Quaracchi, viii, 18, 3, and ix, cap. I, a. I. 9. (w) "defecata," cf. pp. 175, 185, 249, 256.

ocio aduenit mihi affluentia amoris eterni, neque dum corporaliter nimis fuero fatigatus pro itinere, ardorem ipsum spirituales potui sentire, aut etiam immoderate occupatus seculi solaciis, uel quidem ultramodum¹ disputationibus deditus, immo me in talibus refrigerescere deprehendi, donec iterum, postpositis omnibus² quibus exterius possem detineri, solummodo Saluatoris aspectibus assistere contenderem, in³ internisque ardoribus immorari.

Istum ergo librum offero intuendum, non philosophis, non mundi sapientibus, non magnis theologicis infinitis quescionibus implicatis, sed rudibus et indoctis, magis Deum diligere quam multa scire conantibus. Non enim disputando sed agendo sciatur, et amando.⁴ Arbitror autem ea que hic continentur ab istis questionariis et in omni sciencia summis, sed in amore Christi inferioribus, non posse intellegi. Unde nec eis scribere decreui, nisi postpositis et oblitis cunctis que ad mundum pertinent, solis Conditoris desideriis inardescant mancipari. Primo quidem ut omnem terrenam dignitatem fugiant, omnem ostentationem sciencie et uanam gloriam odiant, ac deinde altissime f. 64 paupertati se conformantes orando et meditando diuine dilectioni iugiter assistant. Sic nimirum apparebit eis interius igniculus⁵ quidam caritatis increate et componens cor eorum ad capiendum calorem, quocum cuncta caligo consumatur, eleuabit eos in ardorem amabilem et amenissimum, ut temporalia transcendat et thronum teneant intermine⁶ tranquillitatis. Quo enim scienciores sunt,⁷ eo de iure apciores sint ad amandum, si se uere spernerent et ab aliis sperni gauderent. Proinde quia hic uniuersos excito ad amorem, amorisque superferuidum ac supernaturalem affectum utrumque ostendere conabor, iscius libri titulus incendium amoris sorciatur.⁸

1. (g) "ultime." 2. (j) (c) "rebus." 3. (a) omits. 4. (a) (y) uncorrected text of (j) and the Prologue as copied into Bonaventura's *De Triplici Via* have . . . "scietur ars amandi." Quaracchi viii, 18. 5. cf. *Ibid.*, cap. I, of the three spiritual stages. "stimulus conscientie, radius intelligentie et igniculus sapientie," a reference to Dionysius, *De Mystica Theologia*, c. I, § 1. 6. (a) (e) (w) "interne." 7. (j) "sint." 8. "dicitur," in the MSS. from which the passage is printed in the *De Triplici Via*.

CAP. I.

(De conuersione hominis ad Deum, et que adiuuant et
que impediunt eius conuersionem.)

Nouerint uniuersi in hoc erumpuoso exilii habitaculo¹ immorantes, neminem posse amore eternitatis imbui, neque suauitate celica deliniri, nisi ad Deum uere conuertatur. Conuerti quippe ad ipsum oportet, et ab omnibus rebus uisibilibus in mente penitus auerti,² priusquam poterit diuini amoris dulcedinem saltem ad modicum experiri. Hec quidem conuersio fit per ordinatum amorem, ut diligat diligenda, uel non diligenda non diligat, et in amore magis diligendorum amplius inardescat; et sic minus diligat³ que sunt minus diligenda. Maxime diligendus est Deus: multum⁴ diligenda sunt celestia; parum, et non nisi pro necessitate amanda sunt omnia terrena. Sic sine dubio ad Christum unusquisque conuertitur, dum ab ipso nihil preter Christum desideratur. Auersio uero ab his bonis que in mundo amatores suos decipiunt, non defendunt, consistit⁵ in carencia concupiscencie carnalis, et in odio omnimode iniquitatis; ut terrena non sapiat, neque ultra necessitatem strictam sibi de mundanis rebus retinere requirat. Non f. 64b enim qui thesauros cumulant et cui⁶ congregant ignorant, solacium in eis habentes, aliquid in amenitate superni amoris iocundari meruerunt, quominus fingerent se per deuocionem non sanctam sed simulatam, aliquid⁷ de futura felicitate in suis affectionibus ut dicunt, degustasse. Immo a dulcore quo dilecti Dei mulcentur propter suas turpes presumptiones decidunt, quia terrenas pecunias immoderate amauerunt. Omnis enim amor qui in Deum non intendit, iniquitas est, et iniquos reddit suos possessores. Quamobrem malo amore mundanam amantes excellenciam nequiter succenduntur, et longius distant ab incendio amoris eterni, quam sit spacium inter supremum celum et infimum locum

1. (i) "habitatione." 2. (g) "aduerte." 3. (f) (g) (h) "diligentur,"
4. (g) "multum sunt diligenda celestia." 5. (i) (j) "que consistit."
(g) "est que consistit." 6. So (a) (j). But (f) (i) (h) (k) omit "cui."
cf. *Psalm.* 38, 7. 7. So (f) (j). But (g) (h) (l) "aliquando"; (k) "aliud."

terre. Assimulantur¹ siquidem suo amato, quia conformantur concupiscencie seculari, et retinentes ueterem hominem, uanitate uisibilis uite pro feruore felici perfruuntur. Mutant² igitur gloriam incorruptibilis charitatis in lasciuiam momentanee pulchritudinis. Hoc utique non agerent nisi excecarentur peruersi amoris igne, qui cuncta deuastat germina uirtutum, et augmentum iugerit omnium uiciorum.

Porro³ plerique in formam femineam non figuntur, neque luxuriam lambunt, unde se saluari quasi cum securitate estimant, et propter solam castitatem quam exterius exhiberent, se⁴ uelut sanctos inter alios eminere uident; sed nequiter et inaniter sic suspiciantur, quando cupiditatem que radix est peccatorum non extirpant. Et quidem, ut scriptum est, nihil iniquius quam amare pecuniam, quia dum cor alicuius occupat amor rei temporalis, nullam penitus deuocionem habere permittit. Dileccio namque mundi et Dei nunquam simul in eodem animo existunt; sed cuius amor forcior est reliquum expellit,⁵ ut manifeste appareat quis sit mundi amator, et quis Christi imitator. Erumpit enim in ostensione operis feruor amoris. Siquidem sicut se habent amatores Christi erga mundum et carnem, sic amatores mundi se habent erga Deum et animum suum.

Electi quippe comedunt et bibunt et tota cogitatione f. 65 semper ad Deum intendunt, in omnibus uisibilibus non uoluptatem sed necessitatem tamen querunt, cum angustia de terrenis loquuntur et non nisi transeundo, non moram faciendo in eis, sed et eciam tunc mente cum Deo sunt, ac reliquum temporis⁶ diuinis obsequiis impendunt, non in ocio stantes, nec ad spectacula uel ludos currentes, (quod est signum reproborum), sed potius honeste conuersantes ea que ad Deum pertinent, uel loqui uel agere uel meditari non torpent.

Reprobi uero, omnino inaniter se habent erga Deum. Audiunt enim uerbum Dei cum anxietate, orant sine affec-

1. (a) (*h*) "assimilantur." 2. cf. *Romans*, 1, 23. 3. Harl. MS., 106, f. 185, has this passage among its selections from the *Incendium*. 4. (g) "Se uelut inter sanctos eminere uident." 5. Sic. "whichever love is strongest." 6. (i) "tempus."

cione, cogitant sine dulcedine. Intran ecclesiam, implent parietes, tundunt pectora, emittunt suspiria, sed ficta plane, quia ad oculos hominum, non ad aures Dei perueniunt. Cum enim in ecclesia Dei sunt corpore, ad bona mundi que uel habent, uel habere cupiunt, distracti sunt mente, unde et cor eorum longe est a Deo. Comedunt et bibunt non ad necessitatem sed ad uoluptatem, quia nisi in uenereis etiam cibariis non inueniunt saporem uel suauitatem. Dant plerumque panem pauperibus et algentibus forte tribuunt uestimentum,¹ sed dum elemosina sua uel fit in mortali peccato uel pro uana gloria, aut certe ex his que inuste adquiruntur, nimirum non placant Redemptorem, sed ad uindictam² prouocant Iudicem.

Quemadmodum ergo electi, dum mundo uel carni indulgent, ad Deum semper intentam cogitationem habent; sic reprobi, dum Deo seruire uidentur, iugiter ad mundum et ad ea que cupiditatem mundi et carnis pertinent, intencione cordis iugiter rapiuntur. Et sicut electi qui necessitates suas releuant, Deo non displicent, sic nec reprobi in bonis que agere cernuntur³ Deo placent, quia bona sua multis malis actibus miscent.

Possidet itaque diabolus plures quos bonos putamus.⁴ Habet enim elemosinarios, castos, humiles, scilicet⁵ peccatores se fatentes, ciliciis⁶ indutos, penitencia afflictos. Latent namque plerumque⁷ mortalia uulnera sub estimacione sanctitatis. Habet enim nonnullos feruentes ad operandum, instantes ad predicandum, sed sine dubio omnibus caret qui calidi sunt in caritate, et qui ad amandum Deum semper sunt auidi et ad omnem uanitatem pigri. Iniqui uero, et ad turpem dileccionem sunt feruidi, et ad spiritualem exercitium tanquam mortui, uel nimia debilitate depressi. Quorum amor omnis inordinatus est, quia plus amant bona⁸ temporalia quam eterna, et plus corpora sua quam animas suas.

1. So (α) (f) (g) (i) (h) (k). But (j) = "uestimenta." 2. (g) (h) "uindictam."
3. So (f) (i), etc. But (α) (j) "uidentur." 4. So (α) (f) (g) (h) (k). But (j) "putantur."
5. So (f) (k). But (j) "et se peccatores confitentes"; (k) "se peccatores fatentes." 6. (g) (h) (k) "cilicio." 7. So (f) (k), etc. But (j) (α) (h) "plurimi." 8. (i) omits.

CAP. 2.

(Quod nemo cito pertingit ad summam deuocionem neque dulcedine contemplacionis debriatur.)

Manifestum est autem amantibus quod in primis annis f. 65b nemo ad summam deuocionem pertingit neque dulcedine contemplacionis debriatur. Immo uix raro et momentanee ad gustandum aliquid de supernis admittitur, et paulatim proficiens tandem in spiritu roboratur. Deinde cum iam grauitatem morum accipit, et ad mentis stabilitatem, prout mutabilitas presens patitur, ascendit, magnis quidem laboribus quedam perfectio acquiritur, ut in diuino amore gaudium senciatur.

Uerumtamen uidetur quod omnes et magnifici in uirtute statim calorem increate uel create caritatis realiter senciunt, et immenso amoris incendio liquescentes, canticum diuine laudis intra se canunt. Absconditur enim hoc misterium a multis, et paucis et specialissimis reuelatur. Quia quo gradus iste sublimior est, eo in hoc seculo pauciores habet inuentores. Raro nimirum inuenimus aliquem sanctum uel eciam perfectum in hac uita tanto amore raptum ut in contemplacionem usque ad canoris iubilum eleuaretur, ita scilicet ut in se susciperet sonum celicus infusum, et laudes Deo quasi cum melodia resonaret, dulces faciens modulos, et pneumata multa laudando supernaliter componens, atque ut in semetipso ueraciter¹ sentiret ipsum ardorem dileccionis Dei. Cum tamen mirum sit, si aliter aliquis contemplatiuus auderet estimari, quia psalmista se in personam uiri contemplatiui transformans ait: *Transibo in domum Dei in uoce* f. 66 *exultacionis et confessionis*, scilicet laudis que laus est *sonus epulantis*,² scilicet de superna suauitate letantis. Porro perfecti qui in hanc excellencie abundanciam eterne amicie assumuntur, in preclaro calice caritatis melliflue dulcore indelibili iam imbuti uiuunt, atque in almiphono

1. (7) "naturaliter." 2. *Psalm.* 41, 5.

amenitatis archano in animum suum hauriunt felicem ardorem. Quo iocondati iugiter inestimabilem habent eterni electuarii confortacionem. Et hec utique refeccio amantibus inest eterne hereditatis altitudinem, quibus profecto erumpna accidit in hoc exilio. Et interim hoc non apparebit ipsis inopportunum, ut hic affligantur per aliquot annos, qui ad subsistendum inseparabiliter in celicis sedibus sustollantur. Eliguntur itaque ex omni carne ut sint carissimi in conspectu Conditoris et clarissime coronentur, succensi siquidem quemadmodum seraphym in supremis. Quorum corpora solitarie sedebant, et mentes inter angelos ambulantes ad dilectum anhelebant. Qui et suavissime cecinerunt oraculum amoris eterni in Ihesu iubilantes :

O mellifluus ardor omnibus deliciis dulcior, cunctis operibus delectabilior ! O Deus meus, O amor meus : illabere mihi, tua caritate perforato, tua pulchritudine uulnerato ; illabere, inquam, et languentem consolare : medicina, tu,¹ misero ostende te amanti. Ecce in te est omne desiderium meum, omne quod querit cor meum. Ad te suspirat anima mea ; tibi sitit caro mea, et non aperis mihi, immo auertis faciem, claudis oscium tuum, transis atque declinas, et de penis rides innocentis.

Interim tamen amatores tuos a cunctis terrenis rapis, supra omnem rei mundialis appetitum suscipis, et tui amoris f. 66b capaces facis et in amando efficaces. Quamobrem in canore spirituali ex incendio erumpenti laudes tibi offerunt et amoris iaculum senciunt cum dulcore. Eia ergo, O eterna et amabilis dileccio, que nos ab immis eleuas et diuine maiestatis conspectui tam crebro raptu representas ! Ueni in me, dilecta mea ! Quecunque habui pro te dedi, sed et habenda respui, ut mansionem habeas in anima mea, et consoleris eam, nec me aliquando deseras, quem tanto tuo desiderio cernis flagrare, et tuis amplexibus iugiter inherere, interesseque ardentissimo desiderio ; ita mihi tribuas te amare, in te quoque quiescere, ut in tuo regno sine fine merear te uideri. Amen.

1. (g) "tua."

CAP. 3.

(Quod quilibet electus statum suum a Deo ordinatum habet.)

Contemplatiui uiri qui excellenter uruntur amore eternitatis, quemadmodum quidem superiores existunt in ardore amenissimo et preamabili amoris eterni, ita ut nunquam aut rarissime exeunt in externis ministeriis, neque dignitatem prelacionis et honoris accipiunt. Quin immo intra se seipsos retinentes, Christo cum laudis iubilo canore mente semper ascendunt. Enitatur enim in hoc ecclesia angelicam ierarchiam, in qua superni angeli ad exteriora non mittuntur, Deo iugiter assistentes. Sic summi in amore et contemplacione Christi solis diuinis aspectibus intendunt, et principatum inter homines non assumunt, sed reseruatur aliis, qui magis cuncta humana occupantur negocia, et minus internis deliciis perfruuntur.

Habet igitur electus quisque statum suum a Deo preordinatum.¹ Dum iste ad prelacionem eligitur, ille soli Deo uacare conatur; et ad hoc ipsum Deus interius eleuat, ut omnes exteriores occupaciones pretermittat. Tales denique sanctissimi sunt, et tamen ab hominibus minores estimantur, qui rarius egrediunt ad miracula facienda, eo quod solummodo interioribus manent.

Aliis uero qui recte se diuino seruicio subiciunt, et subditos discrete regunt, ceteris eciam qui coram hominibus inaudita carnis afflictione uiuunt, plerumque² uel in uita f. 67 uel post mortem signa ostenduntur concessa, quamuis^a eciam in purgatorio acerbe per aliquod tempus crucientur. Non enim omnes sancti faciunt uel fecerunt miracula eciam nec in uita nec post mortem, neque omnes reprobi uel in uita uel post mortem miraculis caruerunt. Occultum quippe est iudicium Dei, ut mali uisis signis peccatorum peiores fiant, et boni, contemptis his que bonis et malis communiter haberi possunt, in amore Conditoris sui amplius inardescant.

1. (f) "ordinatum." 2. Short texts "plurimumque."

Quidam quippe bona opera egerunt, sed inde non diuinam sed humanam gloriam quesierunt, et hii post mortem pereunt, hoc tamen habentes, quod in hoc mundo concupiscunt. Nam et sepe contingit quod mediocriter boni et minus perfecti miracula faciant, et plerumque eciam summi ab hiis in celestibus sedibus coram uultum Dei constituti penitus quiescant, habentes utique merita sua¹ inter summas choras angelorum. Quia et festum sancti Michaelis celebratur specialiter, et tamen unus de supremo ordine angelorum esse non creditur.² Quidam et conuersi ad Deum et penitenciam³ agentes, seculariaque negocia deserentes, gaudent in cogitatione sua, si ipsorum nomen post mortem suam apud posteros honoretur. Ad hoc quidem respectum non habebit fidelis seruus Christi, ne totum perdat quod operatur.

Ea enim que communia sunt bonis et malis a sanctis non sunt appetenda; sed caritas et uirtutes spirituales incessanter in cordibus nostris infigantur, que non solum animam a putredine peccatorum custodiunt, sed et corpus in eternam memoriam in iudicio exaltabunt. Omnia que hic fiunt cito fugiunt: ibi autem aut in honore aut in confusione sine fine perducabunt.^a Actiui uero et prelati, uirtute et sciencia clari, contemplatiuos sibi iugiter preponant, et coram Deo superiores arbitrent, et se ad uacandum contemplacioni idoneos non estiment, nisi forte diuina gracia eos ad hanc inspiret.

CAP. 4.

(Differencia inter amatores Dei et eorum premiis.)

Amoris eterni incendium humana anima non sentit, que non prius omnem mundi uanitatē perfecte dereliquit, iugiter studens celestibus intendere, et sine pretermissione diuinam dileccionem desiderare, atque omnem creaturam amandam ordinate diligere. Si enim omne quod diligimus,

1. Short texts: "memoriam suam." 2. For Rolle on the "orders of angels" see Horstman, i, 50. 3. (i) "potenciam."

propter Deum diligimus, potius Deum in illo, quam illud amamus,¹ et ita non illo fruimur sed Deo, quo sine fine frui gloriamur. Mali uero hoc mundo fruuntur et in illo finem sue delectacionis² ponunt, et ea sola que ad mundi gaudium pertinent incessanter concupiscunt. Et quomodo posset quis stultius miserabilius aut damnabilius agere, quam rei transitorie et fallibili propter semetipsum adherere?

Sola enim Trinitas Deus propter se amanda est. In ipsam totam mentem nostram ponamus, omnes cogitationes ad illam finem referre conemur, ut ipsa in nobis sine fine glorificetur. Nosmetipsos et alios quos diligimus propter illam solam diligemus.³

Sed mentitur peccator qui dicit se Deum diligere et tamen peccato non timet seruire. Omnis namque qui Deum diligit liber est, nec ad seruitutem peccat; se redigit, sed in seruicio iusticie constanter persistit. Cum uero terrenas res et consolaciones propter seipsas diligimus, Deum sine dubio non amamus. Immo non uel seruientes Deo sed odientes Deum iudicabimur, si sic in creatura delectamur, quia Conditorum nostrum postponimus et ea que eterna sunt appetere et sequi non curamus. Ualde quippe perniciosum est anime et indicium perdicionis eterne, quando homo totaliter se ad mundum tribuit, et in diuersis carnis desideriis et erroribus quasi ad libitum uadit. Sic nimirum dum miser delectabiliter uiuit, destruitur, et dum se deliciis reputat affluere, ad penam indeficientem et infernalem festinat.

Nemo igitur de se audeat presumere, neque per iactanciam se eleuare, nec uero ad opprobrium suum quando f. 68 despicitur uel conuicia ei obiciuntur, se debet defendere, aut malum uerbum pro malo reddere, sed omnia scilicet tam laudes quam impropria equanimiter tollerare. In hoc certe modo agentes cum Christo in eternum gaudebimus, si Christum eciam in hac uita incessanter et ardentem amamus.

1. (j) uncorrected. "Si enim recte diligimus, Deum potius in illo quam illud amamus." 2. (g) "dileccionis." 3. (f) (h) "diligamus."

Cuius amor, in cordibus radicans stabilisque effectus transformatur nos ad suam similitudinem; et aliam gloriam et diuinam plane letificantem mentes amore ardencium in nos infundit.

Amor enim eius ignis est igneus faciens animas, ut sint lucentes et urentes, et expurgat eas ab omni fece peccati. Qui ignis in electis ardens cogit eos sursum semper mentaliter aspicere, et mortem in desiderio indefesse retinere. Proinde pensemus dum adhuc peccare possumus, prospera mundi fugere, aduersa libenter tollerare. Mala namque mens cum gaudet deperit, et seipsam quasi blando ueneno, dum in creatura iocunditatem querit, occidit. Cuius contagia conemur deuotare inspiciendo in internas epulas que amatoribus ardentibus integre ordinantur in excelsis. Itaque confortemur concedente Christo in canore caritatis et delectemur in dulcissima deuotione, dum impii in horrendis obscuritatibus obdormiunt, et sceleribus pleni ad

f. 68^b supplicia descendunt. Nimirum ualde uidetur quod mortalis homo in tam diuina dilectione capitur, quod in sua secreciori substantia non sentit nisi solacium supernum, et quasi in organo ascendit in altum concupitum clarificantem contemplari. Qui quod ab aliis infertur ad dolorem in gloriam uertit, ut iam quodammodo in anima impassibilis uideatur, qui nec mortis metu turbari poterit,¹ nec a tranquillitate ad intemperanciam aliquando titubabit. Excitatur enim in amore assiduo et in cogitatione que est continua in Ihesu cito deprehendet defectus suos, et quos corrigens deinceps cauet ab eisdem, et sic gerit iusticiam iugiter, donec ad Deum deducatur, et sedeat cum celigenis in sede sempiterna. Quapropter clarus consistit in consciencia et constans est in omnibus uis bonis qui nunquam aut seculari tristitia afficitur aut inani gloria letatur. Obstinati autem in operibus immundis non cognoscunt Christi amorem, quia igniti sunt concupiscencia carnali et debitam deuotionem Deo non exhibent propter sarcinam diuiciarum qua ad terram deprimuntur. Porro non predestinantur ad

1. (g) omits "qui nec—poterit."

delicias paradisi perfruendas, quia¹ pergunt in peruersitatibus suis usque ad mortem, et ideo merito non mitigabitur eorum mesticia, nec dolor dampnationis delebitur, quia uoluntarie uadunt in uoluptatibus et bonis, et pro dilectione deceptiua amorem eterni amatoris procaciter perdiderunt. Proinde in penis perpetuis plane penitebunt quod peccauerunt, et tamen nunquam a piaculis purgabuntur, sed continuatis ignibus cremabuntur sine consolatore.²

CAP. 5.

(Quare magis intendendum est amoru diuino quam sciencie uel disputacioni.)

Inter omnia que agimus aut cogitamus magis intendamus diuino amoru quam sciencie et disputacioni. Amoru enim delectat animam et suauem efficit conscienciam, trahens eam a delectacione inferiorum delectabilium et appetitu proprie excellencie. Sciencia sine caritate non edificat ad salutem eternam, sed inflat ad miserrimam perditionem. Fortis igitur sit animus noster in arripiendis laboribus duris pro Deo³; sit sapiens sapore celestium non seculari; anhelat eterna sapiencia illustrari, et inflammari igne illo dulcifluro quo excitatur quis ad amandum et desiderandum solum Conditoru et roboretur uehementer ad contemptum omnium reru transitoriaru. Hoc sibi f. 69 in eis maximum solacium deputans quod non manent, utpote in presenti non habens mansionem, sed futuram non manufactam requirit incessanter et clamat: *Mihi uiuere Christus est et mori lucrum*.⁴ Uere enim ille Deum amat qui nulli prauae delectacioni consentit. Tanto namque ab amore Christi homo elongatur quanto in aliqua re mundana se delectat. Si ergo Deum amas, opus tuum hoc demonstrat, quia nunquam probatur diligere Deum dum malis

1. Short texts "sed et pergunt." 2. Short texts "consolacione."

3. (i) and (j) uncorrected have: "fortis fit animus noster in accipiendis laboribus—sapiens fit sapore celesti non seculari." 4. *Phil.* 1, 21.

desideriis cogitur consentire.¹ [Igitur hoc audeo annunciare omnibus existentibus in hoc exilio, quod cuncti qui non amabunt Auctorem uniuersorum in tenebras interminabiles eicientur, et ignis infernalis incendium sencient in eternum, qui hic amore Redemptoris incendi noluerunt. Sequestrabuntur eciam a consorcio canencium in caritate Creatoris et gemebunt iugiter eiecti a iocunditate iubilancium in Ihesum, carentes claritate et gloria coronatorum, quia maluerunt per modicum temporis morari in mundana mollicia quam penitenciam pati et pressuras, ut peccata sua purgarentur et peruenirent pleni pietate coram protectore bonorum. Letabantur quippe in lubrica et lata uia in hac ualle lacrimarum ubi non est locus leticie sed laboribus, et ideo lugebunt in tormentis sine relaxacione.] Peccatores lugebunt quando pauperes portabuntur ad pacem perhenem et delectabuntur in deliciis deitatis uiuificantis, Christi uultum ueraciter uidentes, qui uenusti erant uirtutibus et in feruore spirituali feliciter floruerunt quamuis cum sublimibus huius seculi nequaquam sumpserunt² solacium, nec inter sapientes insanos seminauerunt superbiam, sed sustinuerunt angariam ab iniquis, et temptationes exterminauerunt a throno Trinitatis ut in tranquillitate tenerentur. Uerum et euacuauerunt uetustatem uite uenenose, laudantes limpide ac libentissime speciem spiritualem, et ludos leuitatis (quos iuuenilis etas acceptat, et seculares insensati sapiunt,) reprobacione reuera dignos iudicabant, cogitantes cum continuacione carmen caritatum in Conditorem ascendens.

Quamobrem capaces gaudii amoris, et concipientes calorem qui non potest consumi, concurrunt in canticum clari concentus, et armonie amorose, atque in amenitate

1. The passage in brackets is the first of those omitted in the *short texts*. (j) omits it, but John Newton has added it in the margin. (a) f. 18b, has marked this passage by a line against it in the margin, and the monogram J.G.S. (see p. 3). This MS. is a long text, and the mark shows that the annotator knew that the passage was absent in some texts. A similar marking, but without the monogram, occurs in cap. 11, p. 175, at the [passage] "Comedi ergo et bibi" . . . "uideam." This [] passage seems to have been part of Rolle's original text and not a later interpolation.

2. Rolle frequently uses the indicative for the subjunctive.

amicabili obumbracionem habent celicus infusam, contra omnem estum lenocinii ac liuoris. Unde et in ipso ardore amoris suauissimi assumuntur ad aspectum amati, et per flammam felicissimam florentes sunt in uirtute et fruuntur factore, migratque mens in melodiam mutata iam manente, f. 69b et cogitationes exinde fiunt canore, ac emissa mesticia aula anime musica mirabili abundat, ut priorem penitus perdat punicionem et sana in sublimitate sonora semper subsistat modulans premirifice in melliphona meditatione. Deinde cum discedunt ab hiis duriciis et ab angusciis que in imis aguntur tempus aduenit ut accipiantur sine dubio, et deportantur ad Deum sine dolore et inter seraphym sorciantur sedes, quia toti succensi igne altissimi amoris et ardentes ineffabiliter intra animabus suis ita dulciter et deuote dilexerunt Deum, quod quicquid in se senserunt feruor fuit spiritualis, canor celicus et dulcor diuinus.¹ Hinc est utique quod sine merore moriuntur, immo cum gaudio gradientes ad tam grandem gradum eleuantur in eternis honoribus, et consistunt coronati in copiosissima Creatoris contemplacione, concinentes² cum choris clarissimis, qui eciam ardencius anhelant in essenciam ipsam omnibus imperantem. Et quippe quanquam nunc ita perspicue prospiciunt in uultu ueritatis, et delicatissima dulcedine diuinitatis indubitanter debriantur, post modicum nimirum magis mirificabuntur, quando corpora sanctorum que in terra tenentur per tempus, suscitabuntur a sepulcris et cum ipsis unientur anime eorum in ultiima examinacione. Profecto tunc percipient principatum in populis et iudicabunt uniuersos ut dampnentur, et monstrabunt quod medio-criter boni ad beatitudinem assequendam benedicti erant. Porro completo generali iudicio in continuum iubilum gerentur et conscendent cum Christo culmen claritatis, facie Dei fruentes sine fine.

Ex hiis liquidum est quod mentes illas eterna dulcedo f 70. inebriat: quas uinculum caritatis insolubiliter ligat.

1. Rolle's usual classification of the stages of contemplative love. cf. cap. 15, p. 185. 2. (*f*) "continuentes."

Proinde potius procuremus ut nos intime accendat amor Christi quam inutili disputationi intendamus. Dum enim inuestigacioni immoderate incumbimus, dulcorem profecto eterne suauitatis non sentimus. Unde iam plures in tanto incendio sciencie non amoris flagrant, quod penitus quid sit amor uel cuius saporis sit ignorent. Cum totius studii sui ad hunc finem deberent¹ extendere ut in diuino amore possint ardere. Proh pudor,² uetula plus experitur de Dei³ amore et minus de mundi uoluptate quam theologus, cuius studium uanum est, quia pro uanitate studet ut sciatur et gloriosus appareat, ut redditus et dignitates adquirat qui stultus non doctus meretur reputari.⁴

CAP. 6.

(De causa hereticorum et fide Trinitatis,)

f 25 [Abundancia⁵ ueritatis integre et sancte inquirentibus se ostendit, et patent clausa misteria filiis unitatis. Unde hereticorum namque perfidia oritur, nisi ex inordinata et indisciplinata mente, que appetitu proprie excellencie obceatur. Quia uero inter se per inanem concupiscenciam Deum impugnare non desinunt, ex merito suo est quod etiam exterius manifestis argumentis⁶ ueritati obsistunt, et cum christiana religio⁷ sit omnem contrarietatem abscidere et in unitatem fidei et amoris conuenire: hereticorum et superbiorum est semper nouas opiniones gignere, et insolitas ab ecclesiastica assercione quesciones peruulgare, et sic ea que fideles christiani inconcusse retinent ipsi suis uanitatibus dissipare gaudent.

1. Short texts "debent." 2. (a) (j) uncorrected, (k) (n) (q) have "proh dolor." 3. (g) "diuino." 4. The next chapter is omitted in the short texts. (j) f. 70 has a marginal note "Require capitulum sextum a sinistra parte ad talem signum. θ" (where it is actually given), on f. 25.

5. This passage ("abundancia-crux," p. 163), which is distinct from, though it resembles, Rolle's tract on the Athanasian Creed, printed *Magna Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, Lyons, 1677, xxvi, 613, is a digression from the main topic of the book. As such, it might have been inserted later: but probably was actually omitted by the compiler of the short text as not dealing with contemplation. 6. (f) and (j) uncorrected, insert "quamuis." 7. Sic; apparently for "christiane religionis."

Horum errores abicientes dicimus: Filius siquidem Dei coeternus Patri omnino credendus est et intelligendus, quia nisi ipsum Pater ab eterno gigneret, in se profecto plenus Deus non fuisset. Si enim Deus prior aliquando extiterit, quando Filium non habuit, tunc nimirum minor fuit quam postea quando Filium generavit,¹ quod nullus sane mentis dicet. Incommutabilis ergo Deus incommutabilem gignet Deum, et quem ab eterno genuit, eciam hodie gignere non desistit, quia nec substantia geniti aliquando non genita dici potuit, nec generantis essentia nunquam sine unigenito ex se genito se sentiuit. Quemadmodum enim diuinitatis principium nulla ratione, nullo intellectu, (quia principium non habet), inueniri poterit: ita et generator Filii cum eternitate deitatis immutabiliter permansit. Cumque uero in infinitate Dei admiratio et honor omnipotentis sine exordio clarescit, ad quid se humana insipientia eleuat, ut sacramentum ineffabile auribus mortalium intimare contendat? Ille autem Deum perfecte cognoscit, qui ipsum f. 25b incomprehensibilem et incognoscibilem esse deprehendit.

Nihil enim perfecte cognoscitur nisi causa eius unde et quomodo sit perfecte sciatur. In presenti autem ex parte² cognoscimus, et ex parte scimus: in futuro uero perfecte cognoscemus et plene, ut licet creaturis et expedit eis. Porro qui ultra id quod utile est de incorruptibilitate Conditoris scire appetit, sine dubio a perfecta huius sciencia stulcius cadit. Tu queris: "quid est Deus"? et ego tibi breuiter respondeo: "tale ac tantum est, quale et quantum nec aliud est nec esse potest." Si uis scire proprie loquendo, "quid est Deus": dico quod nunquam solutionem huius quescionis inuenires. Ego non noui, angeli nescierunt, archangeli non audierunt. Quomodo ergo tu uis scire quod inscibile est et indocibile? Deus enim, cum omnipotens sit, non potest te docere quid ipse sit. Si enim scires quid est Deus, esses sapiens sicut Deus, quod nec tu nec aliqua potest creatura. Sta ergo in gradu tuo, et alciora ne quesieris; quia si desideras scire quid est Deus,

1. (j) uncorrected, "gignauit." 2. cf. *I, Cor.* 13, 9.

desideras ut sis Deus, quod non decet tibi, bene scis. Solus Deus seipsum scit uel scire potest. Non est autem impotencie Dei quod seipsum te docere non potest sicut in se est, sed eius inestimabilis magnificencie, quia talis alius esse non potest qualis ipse est. Si uero plene sciri posset: incomprehensibilis non esset. Sufficit ergo tibi ut cognoscas quod Deus est, et oberit tibi si scire uelis quid Deus est.

Laudabile ita est, Deum perfecte, scilicet incomprehensibilem esse, cognoscere; cognoscendo, amare; amando, iubilare in eo; iubilando, in ipso requiescere; et per quietem internam ad requiem peruenire sempiternam. Non moueat
f. 26 te quod dixi Deum perfecte cognoscere, et negaui te Deum posse scire, cum tamen psalmista dicat: *Pretende misericordiam tuam scientibus te*.¹ Sed sic istam auctoritatem intellige si non uis errare, "Scientibus te": scilicet hiis qui sciunt te Deum amandum, laudandum, adorandum, glorificandum, solum omnium rerum Conditorum, super omnia, per omnia, et in omnibus, qui est benedictus in secula seculorum. Amen.

CAP. 7.

(Quod in diuinis non debemus dicere tres Dominos uel tres essencias, sicut dicimus tres personas; et quod secundum quantitatem amoris dicitur homo magnus uel paruus.)

Si ideo quidam errantes uellent dicere tres essencias, quia dicunt tres personas: cur eciam non dicerent tres Deos, cum idem sit Deo, Deum esse, et essenciam esse? Dicimus autem: Pater est Deus, Filius est Deus, Spiritus Sanctus est Deus. Similiter Pater est essencia, Filius est essencia, Spiritus Sanctus est essencia: et tamen non tres Deos nec tres essencias dicimus, sed unum Deum tres personas esse, uniusque essencie firma fide confitemur; quia et una est maiestas trium personarum plena et perfecta, et quelibet persona in se plenam continet maiestatem; equalitatem quidem et idemtitatem habens secundum deitatis substan-

1. *Psalm.* 35, 11.

ciam. et diuersitatis distincione non carens, secundum uocabuli proprietatem. Sunt itaque tres persone et unus Deus, una essencia, una substancia, una deitas : et quamuis persona essenciam significet, non tamen quia tres persone sunt, ideo tres essencie intelligantur. Et quemadmodum Deum nostrum, Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, unam essenciam non tres essencias dicimus : ita eandem summam Trinitatem tres personas non unam personam dicemus.

Pater dicitur quia genuit de se Filium; Filius dicitur quia genitus est a Patre; Spiritus Sanctus, quia ab utroque, scilicet Sancto Patre, et Sancto Filio spiratur. Pater, uita f. 266
gignendo Filium, [uitam], dedit ei totam substanciam suam, ut tantus sit Pater in Filio, quantus est in seipso; et Filius non minor est in Patre quam in se; sed Pater a nullo accepit quod sit, Filius uero a solo Patre quod habet nascendo accepit. Porro Spiritus Sanctus a Patre Filioque procedens, et cum eis ac in eis eternitaliter existens, non maior est in se quam in utroque. Equalis enim et coeternus est cum hiis a quibus est, cum sit eiusdem substancie, eiusdem nature, eiusdem maiestatis, ac tertia persona in Trinitate. Filius uero eternus ex Patre factus est homo in tempore, natus ex uirgine ut humanum genus redimeret a diaboli potestate. Hic est Dominus noster Ihesus Christus qui solus fixus sit in nostra mente, qui pro nobis solus fixus fuit in cruce.】

Nihil ¹ enim tam suaue est sicut diligere Christum, et idcirco non nimis inuestigemus ea que in uia ² comprehendere non possumus; in patria enim luce clariora erunt, si totum cor nostrum prebeamus ad amandum Deum. Erimus enim omnes docibiles Dei et gaudebimus in melodia premirifica, et laudabimus Creatorem nostrum in summa amenitate ac suaui facilitate ³ sine anxietate et fastidio sine

1. The compiler of the short text seems to have written down this sentence, because Rolle seems to have ended his more theological discourse. (o) f. 48b heads the passage cap. 4: and the other short texts count it as cap 4 or cap. 5. 2. (g) uita. Rolle often uses this metaphor of the "uia" and "patria" for the present and future life. cf. pp. 146, 8; 164, 6, 8, 9; 193; 250. 3. (g) felicitate.

fine. [Quippe qui multum amat magnus est, qui minus amat minus est; quia secundum magnitudinem caritatis quam in nobis habemus coram Deo appreciamur. Non est sic coram hominibus, sed qui plures habet diuicias et possessiones magis ponderatur et precipue timetur, cum non sic debeant facere, sed semper quos scienciores estimauerint, honorare ac formidare. Potentes enim seculi non possunt quicquam egere, nisi corpore aut bonis temporalibus. Sancti uero maiorem sorciuntur excellenciam. Habebunt enim potestatem claudere celum hiis qui se angariauerunt et de hoc penitere noluerunt, et aperire hiis qui se

f. 27 in Deo honorauerunt et sustentauerunt in hoc exilio, dummodo infortunati fuerint per caritatem et omnem inanem gloriam non receperint. Ideoque ad caritatem adquirendam, habendam et retinendam, tota uirtute sua ac omnibus uiribus suis laborare deberent, ut in die temptationis uiriliter stare possint contra aduersarios suos, et cum probati fuerint accipiant coronam uite.¹ Perfectos uero facit caritas,²] et soli perfecte amantes ad altitudinem uite contemplatiue ascendere donantur. [Et quidam pauperes quamuis squalore et immunditate sint cooperti, non tamen debent contempni, quia sunt amici Dei et fratres Christi, si cum graciaram accione onus ferant paupertatis. Quos enim exterius despectos cernitis, interius supernos ciues honoretis, et tanto ad honorem illorum propter Deum succrescite quanto secrecius operatur in maiestate qui eos consolens ait *Beati pauperes quia uestrum est regnum Dei*.³ Magna enim tribulacio et inopia quas paciuntur in hac uita sunt purgamentum peccatorum suorum, quia dum pauper in corpore, fame, siti, frigore ac nuditate aliisque huiusmundi angusciis affligitur: in anima ab immundicia et terrenis sordibus expiatur. Et certe eo suauiore in futuro requiem eternitatis pauperes senciunt: quo in hoc presenti, labores grauissimos tollerauerunt. Eorum erit dicere *letati*

1. Cf. *Jac.* 1, 12. 2. The compiler of the short text seems to have been struck by this sentence, containing the words "altitudinem uite contemplatiue," but then to have seen that Rolle was not following up this idea, and, consequently, to have omitted to copy the remaining passage. 3. *Luc.* 6, 20.

*sumus pro diebus quibus nos humiliasti: annis quibus uidimus mala.*¹ Igitur paupertatis onus cum gaudio amplectere, aliasque miseras libenter sustinere memento, ut per pacientiam tribulacionum ad gloriam eterne pacis peruenire merearis.

CAP. 8.

(Quod perfectus Dei amator mauult magnam penam incurrere quam semel Deum per peccatum offendere; et cur Deus cum impiis iustos affligit.)

Ex magno amoris incendio² tantus uirtutis decor in f. 27b animo crescit, quod iustus potius eligeret omnem penam incurrere quam Deum semel offendere, eciam quamquam sciret quod posset per penitentiam resurgere et postea magis Deo placere et sanctior esse; quia quilibet perfectus hoc intelligit, quod nihil est Deo carius innocencia, nihil acceptabilius uoluntate bona. Si enim recte amaremus Deum, deberemus magis uelle magnum premium in celo amittere quam saltem uenaliter peccare, quia iustissimum est iusticie mercedem non requirere, sed amicitiam Dei que est ipse Deus. Melius est ergo semper tormentum pati, quam semel a iusticia ad iniquitatem sponte deduci et scienter. Cum tamen manifeste constet quod qui Christum tam ardentem diligunt quod nullo modo peccare uolunt, non solum a penis liberi erunt sed et cum angelis eternitaliter gaudebunt. Illi uero qui sceleratis actibus famulantur et gaudium immundiale carnaleque solacium uelut magnum et amabile estimant, eaque inherendo affectant, profecto et bonum quod diligunt amittunt, et malum quod non precarent incurrunt.

Sed queri solet a quibusdam, quare omnipotens Deus simul cum impiis eciam iustos flagellet. Uides quod simul sunt sub flagello granum et palea, sed in uentilacione palea³ eicitur et grana diligenter ad usum hominum colliguntur. f. 28

1, *Psalm.* 89, 15.

2. This chapter and the greater part of the next are missing in the short texts. 3. Cf. *Luc.* 3, 17.

Si omnes iuste uiuerent: procul dubio in tranquillitate et pace sine discordia et bellis manerent; sed quia inter paucos bonos multi mali sunt, multa mala ueniunt, ut mali castigentur, que mala etiam in bonos incidunt: quia cum malis miscentur usque ad mortem. Iusti etiam, quia prouisi sunt ad peccandum, ne ipsa prouisio ad effectum perducatur, per flagellum pii patris¹ erudiuntur suscipere disciplinam leuem presentem ut futuram euadant acerbam. Si ergo persecucionem, miseriam et angustiam pateris, habes quod congruit loco in quo moraris. Nonne uallis etiam tribulationum est in quo es? quomodo etiam gaudere uis in carcere et in omnibus in exilio prosperari, aut sine dolore peregrinationem longam pertransire? Memento quod Christus et apostoli tormenta passi sunt, et tu ad gaudium per gaudium queris peruenire; sed non facies. Aut enim in hac uita ignis diuini amoris rubiginem peccatorum nostrorum consumet et animas clarificabit, ut apte sint ad euolandum uel post hanc uitam ignis purgatorii ipsas animas nostras excruciat, si nos incendia inferni euadere contingat, uel si non sit in nobis tanta uis amoris quod plene nos exurat: tribulationibus, infirmitatibus et angustis nos expiari oportet.

Hoc etiam absque ambiguo habeamus, quod non potest iuuenis inter blandicias et dulcia uerba pulchrarum mulierum et affluentias deliciarum sanctus fieri, nisi ex inestimabili
 f. 28^b magnitudine gracie Dei, ubi tot et tanta ad lapsum alliciunt, quod sepe etiam sanctum uirum confuserunt. Maximum ergo miraculum estimo cum quis per gratiam Dei et amorem Christi hec alliciencia perfecte contempnitur,² et inter illa anime aduersancia quamuis carni mollia uideantur, ad eximiam superne contemplacionis sanctitatem uiriliter ascendit, et procul dubio eo sanctior est et uberius diuini amoris solacio intra repletur, quo in igne positus nescit ardere et illicebrose uite oblectamenta ultro se offerencia perfectius extinguit, quod nimirum etsi raro Christus in quibusdam dilectis suis operatur. De quibus dicitur:

1. Cf. *Heb.* 12, 6. 2. (f) "contempnit."

Expandit nubem, scilicet obumbraculum diuine gracie in *proteccionem eorum*¹ a concupiscencia carnali, et igne eterni amoris *ut luceret eis* interius in mente *per noctem* huius uite, ne illecebris uane pulchritudinis capiantur. Tanta uero suauitate ardet in eis Christi amor, quod omnem carnalem illicitam delectacionem stercus uilissimum deputant et ideo eam conculcant. Ideoque non tangas lubricæ, quod nec licet tibi concupiscere nec uis habere. Memento eciam manum, linguam, et uentrem continere, et in mulieribus non tibi displiceas. Incitamenta siquidem luxurie sunt ornamenta uirorum ac mulierum, calidaque electuaria et alia cibaria calore suo carnem nimium inflammantia, que medici corporum et interfectores animarum conficere nituntur; que uitanda sunt castis.

CAP. 9.

(Quod in aduersis Deus laudandus est et amandus et de iocunditate et humilitate bonorum.)

Si temporalis honor dedecore destruitur, et mundana gloria confusione finitur, constat procul dubio quod melius **f. 29** est opprobrium quam honor, confusio quam culmen, luctus quam laus; quia per ista sepe quis in inanem gloriam labitur, per illa semper si patienter tulerit, in presenti ad humilitatem eruditur et in futuro penam non patitur, (quia Deus iustos bis non confundet,) et sublimius coronatur; quia paciencia pauperum non peribit in finem.

Ad sanctitatem uero hec pertinent: primo, nullo modo cogitare loqui et operari quod Deo displicet; deinde cogitare, loqui et operari quod Deo placet. Hoc fac secundum scienciam ut nec in scandalum corruas, nec nimiam sanctitatemingas, quia et stultus est qui coram hominibus sanctus semper apparere appetit, et crudelis qui se malum cum bonus sit ostendit. Quedam uero sunt que secundum se considerata, nec sunt bona nec mala, quia in puris naturalibus nec est meritum nec demeritum; et talia nec si fiant Deo displicent, nec si non fiant Deo placent.

1. *Psalm.* 104, 39.

Possumus enim uidere, audire, odorare, sentire, tangere, et tamen nec mereri nec demereri. Omne autem peccatum aut fit in Dei contemptum, aut in proximi nocumentum, aut in sui ipsius detrimentum, sed multa possunt inter homines inueniri que sunt in nullo istorum. Despici autem ac confundi in conspectu hominum facit hominem ascendere ad gaudium angelorum.

O bone Ihesu, hic flagella, hic seca, hic percute, hic ure, immo facias de me quicquid placeat bonitati tue, dummodo in futuro malum non habeam, sed tuam amorem senciam hic et in eternum. Pro te omnibus esse despectio, confusio, f. 296 et opprobrium dulcius est mihi quam si uocarer frater regis terreni, et inter omnes et ab omnibus honorarer ac laudarer : ut irruat super me undique miseria in hac uita, et parcas mihi Deus in alia. Hic uolo tribulari et corripì, et hoc concedat mihi Christus in presenti, si aliter non euadam futuram penam !

Superbi uero et iracundi ita sibi uidentur gloriosi quod nihil possunt pati, ad leue uerbum sepe mouentur eciam sine causa. Magis ergo sunt fugiendi quam uincendi, quia peruicaces sunt et quod assumpserunt siue sit falsum siue erroneum omnino defendunt, et nec auctoritate nec ratione possunt uinci, ne uideantur uicti et incongruum protulisse. Et cum sint indocti et hoc bene sciant, uolunt tamen in omnibus que ad Deum pertinent uideri inspirati, ut sic ubique loquantur sine contradiccione alicuius, et malunt in errore suo remanere, quam de eo in aperto reprehendi.

Dimittite, fratres, hanc insaniam superbam et superbiam insanam, ac humiliemur ualde dum in uia sumus, quia melius est, bonumque amabile, ut Christus dicat nobis post mortem nostram, *Amice ascende superius* : neque dicat *Rustice, descende inferius*.¹ Sic enim erit de humilibus et elatis. Nulla ergo tribulacio, nulla angustia, nulla miseria, nulla confusio uel abieccio timenda sunt uiro iusto : dummodo non peccat et in contemplatiua uita et in amore Dei semper proficiat. Priusquam namque peruenire poterimus

. Cf. *Luc.* 14, 10.

ad illam aulam regiam in qua cum angelis Dei et omnibus sanctis dulcedine plena perfruemur, oportet nos hic probari per adulantes et detrahentes, per blandientes et mordentes, f. 30 per laudantes et uituperantes, ut in omni paciencia et humilitate atque caritate, preceptis et consiliis Christi inherentes, usquequaque examinati inueniamur sicut scriptum est: *Tanquam aurum in fornace probauit illos*¹; quod undique ignem habet, et *inuenit eos dignos se*. Sic sit per prospera et aduersa transeamus, per ignem et aquam, donec perueniamus in refrigerium uite celestis. Memento itaque in omni aduersitate et penuria et paupertate nequando murmures uel stultum quid loquaris aut peruersum; sed in omnibus gratias age, inde enim gloriosius ad regnum sanctorum eleuaberis, quo predicta in mundo libenter pateris.

O anima mea, inter omnia que contingunt deuocione delectata, lauda Dominum, laudando sencias dulcissima et canendo degustes mellita. Quia laudabo Dominum in uita mea, siue tribulor siue prosperor, siue opprobrium siue honorem accipio, psallam Deo meo quamdiu fuero.² Si quiesco in Ihesu iubilo: etsi persecucionem pacior, Dei amorem non obliuiscor. Sufficit uero mihi ut amem Deum meum et perueniam ad eum; aliud non possum agere, nec alterius rei nec actui dispositum me cerno quam ad amandum Christum. Adhuc non peruenio ad tantum amorem Dei ad quantum peruenerunt patres mei, qui eciam multa alia utilia fecerunt; unde ualde erubesco et confundor in meipso. Ergo, O Domine, dilata cor meum, ut capacius fiat ad percipiendum amorem tuum. Quanto enim quis capacior est, tanto caritatem amplius capit et sapit, et minus f. 30b de carne curat, sed cum discrecione, ut de eo fiat iuxta sententiam sapientis: *Modicum inquit laboraui et inueni mihi multam requiem*³; quia post paucos annos huius uite inuenit iustus requiem eternitatis. In huius autem exilii habitacione sanctus Dei amator nec se nimis letum

1. *Sap.* 3, 6. 2. cf. *Psalm.* 103, 33. 3. *Ecclesiastici* 51, 35.

ostendit nec ualde tristem, sed hilaritatem habet cum maturitate.

Porro risum quidam reprobant, quidam laudant.】 Risus igitur qui est ex leuitate et uanitate mentis, reprobabilis¹ est : qui uero est ex hilaritate consciencie et leticia spirituali, laudabilis est, qui solum in iustis est, et dicitur iocunditas in dilectione Dei. Ideo si hilares sumus et iocundi, impii nos dicunt dissollutos, si tristes, dicunt ipocritas. Uix enim scit aliquis estimare bonum in alio quod non inuenit in seipso, et uicium quo ipse cespitat, eciam alium habere putat, 【et est actus presumptuosi, quod si quis ipsius uitam non sequitur, estimat deuiare et decipi, et hoc ideo in eo fit, quia humilitatem dereliquit.

Gradus eciam humilitatis sunt, oculos dimissos tenere, non sublimes, in locucione modum habere, non excedere, f, 31 meliores et scienciores libenter audire, et uelle ab aliis sapienciam audiri potius quam a se,² tempus loquendi non anticipare, a communi uita non recedere,³ alios sibi preferre, suas infirmitates cognoscere, et se omnibus deteriorem estimare. Si enim uoluisssem uenire inter homines, cupiui ut ultimus sederem in numero, et minimus in opinione, et sic tota gloria mea esset in Christo Ihesu, ac nec laudem uel uituperium hominum respicerem, sed iugi deuocione ad Deum estuarem. Multi namque qui mecum loquebantur, similes fuerunt scorpionibus, qui capite blandiebantur adulantes, et cauda percuciebant detrahentes; a quorum labiis iniquis et linguis dolosis liberabit Deus animam meam, constituens eam in gaudio tranquillitatis. Sed unde accessit tanta demencia in mentes uirorum, ut nullus uituperari, nullus reprehendi uelit, omnes immo laudari querant, gaudeant ad honores, rideant ad fauores, eciam illi qui sanctioris uite nomen gestant? Mihi uidentur tales aut ultra modum sancti, uel quasi insensati, quamuis sapientes et docti uocentur. Quis uero sane mentis seipsum indiscussum deserit, et in uanis hominum uerbis hilarescit?

1. (g) "reprobabilis." 2. (a) omits this sentence. 3. Curious, from Rolle, unless he is quoting some religious.

Si autem se diligenter considerat, et qualis sit in cognitionibus et actibus agnoscere curat, cito se poteritprehendere, et utrum laude uel uituperio dignus sit inuenire. Cum ergo se in multis uideat culpabilem et in paucis laudandum, non honorem uel fauorem quo indignus est cum leticia assumeret, nisi mente insanus erraret. Si uero seipsum uehementer considerans reperit se in feruore et suauitate diuini amoris inestimabiliter incalescere, atque in contemplatiuam uitam eminenter exire, in hac quoque iugiter stare, et hoc eciam recolit uel non commisisse grauia uel, si qua commisisset, per penitenciam ueram credit esse f. 31b deleta: profecto non oportet ipsum dolere pro honore hominum quia maiorem meruit, scilicet consortium angelorum. Taliter uero quisquam dispositus non plus gauderet sedere cum rege quam cum paupere, quia non respicit ad diuicias et dignitates omnium, sed ad uitam et merita singulorum. Nihil magnum arbitratur fulgere auro, circumdari exercitu multo, procedere in purpura, letari in infula,¹ immo sanctam et suauem conscienciam cunctis operibus et deliciis proponit.]

CAP. IO.

(Quod amator Dei mundum, tedium et ocium respuit et de ipocritis et auaris.)

Dicitur in canticis fortis est ut mors dileccio, dura sicut infernus emulacio.² Mors enim uiuos interficit, infernus uero nec mortuis parcat.³ Sic quidem amor Dei hominem quem perfecte rapit non solum ab amore huius mundi funditus occidit, sed eciam occisum mundo et unificatum celo ad sustinendum pro Deo tribulationes et miserias presentes non modicum accendit. Quisquis ergo es qui te Christum amare putas ad hoc attendas: quia si adhuc

1. mitre. 2. *Cant.* 8, 6. Cf. *Lyric X*, Horstman i, 77. "For luf es stalworth as the dede, luf es hard as hell." 3. cf. *Form of Perfect Living*, Horstman i, 40. "For luf es stalward as the dede, that slaas al lifand thyng in erth; und hard als hell, that spares noght til tham that er dede."

terrena cum delectacione respicis, et imparatum animum ad passiones eciam ad ipsam mortem tolerandas reperis: profecto Dei uerum amatorem te non esse ostendis. Porro uerus dilector nec ad mundum dirigit oculum, nec pro Deo pati metuit omne quod uidetur triste aut durum, sed nec impeditur a cogitationi dilecti sui quicquid contingat illi. Tu quoque qui Dei amator aut es aut esse tota mente concupiscis: semper stude quantum potes per gratiam Christi tedio non affici, et ocio non capi. Et si quandoque suauis

f. 32 facilitas in orando uel meditando tibi non adest ut si eleuate mentis ¹ sis per iubilum sancte contemplacionis, et canere ut solebas non poteris, tu non cesses legere uel orare uel aliquid aliud utile interius uel exterius agere, ne ad ociositatem ² uel accidiam dilabaris. Multos uero tedium traxit ad ocium, et ocium ad negligenciam et iniquitatem. Igitur esto feruens semper quantum in te est, et affectum tuum non habeas inclinatum ad aliquid quod de hoc mundo uel concupisci uel haberi potest. Non enim aliquis Deo perfecte unitur dum alicui creature mundiali affectu alligatur. Quidam eciam sunt qui exterius Deo apparent coniuncti, et interius sunt demonibus dediti. Hii sunt simulatores et callidi qui prouocant iram Dei. Simulatores quippe sunt qui uerbo mundum contempnunt et illum facto nimio diligere noscuntur. De Deo loquentes uideri uolunt et interius in tantum amore pecunie capiuntur quod eciam quandoque pro dispendio³ litigant; qui os suum aperientes Deo hiant, et penitus deuocione carentes, cum nullum feruorem fidei et caritatis habeant, sanctissimos tamen incessu et habitu et sermone se ostentant. [Hii eciam plerumque se iactant constantes in aduersis leuibis, sed cum ad illud perueniunt ubi potius resistere deberent, ibi cicius franguntur et cadunt, et tunc aperitur manifeste quod

f. 32b prius erat occultum. Cumque diuiciis affluant et deliciis pascantur, dicunt tamen se minimum comedere, et quod tantam cogitationem habent quod totus mundus non nisi

1. (g) "eleuare mentem non possis per iubilum." 2. (g) "ocietatem."
 3. (f) (k) (l) (r) (g) (w) "dipondio," a word not found in Ducange. (g) (n) "stipendio." Misyn, "two halpens."

uanitas sit, ut dicunt uix subsistere possunt pro debilitate. Callidi eciam sunt quia habent secularem sapienciam et in hac callent, ut non percipiantur alienis insidiis in quantum cauent defeccionem temporalium, sub speciem quietis spiritualis auariciam palliantes in contemptum eternarum. Sed tales quamuis ad tempus lateant sine dubio longe ante finem uel saltem in fine quales fuerunt apparebunt. Qui et elemosinam quod faciunt uel aliquid aliud opus in conspectu hominum agunt, ut omnia ab hominibz uideantur. Et merito tales iram Dei prouocant, quia perfecti uideri non esse appetentes, et intus, ubi deus uidet, uera humilitate carentes, suam gloriam non diuinam clamant. Ualde autem difficile est habere diuicias et eas non amare, et non minus difficile est artem uel officium habere lucrosum et auarum non esse.

Unde sepe defamantur sic sacerdotes inter gentes, quod si sint casti, inueniuntur auari, si autem largi fiunt luxuriosi. Et plerumque contingit quod suscepto sacerdocii ordine, tanto in sceleribus profundius corruunt, quanto gradum alciozem indigne susceperunt. Nonnulli uere anxia¹ cupiditate inflammati sub speciem uenture infirmitatis aut paupertatis dicunt se bona colligere ut imminentem miseriam euadant. Sed a demonibus illuduntur, quia et bona terrena amittunt et calamitatem quam timent incurrun², quia Deum qui seruos suos liberat in conspectu suo non prouident, et quod pessimum est, cum interius pleni sint terrena cupidine, foris se fingunt sanctitatis signaculo fulgere. Sed qui Domini seruus est in Domino confidet, et bona que habet ultra necessaria indigentibus distribuit. Seruus autem mundi cuncta que possidet sue insaciabili cupiditati male custodire studet, ut eciam ita tenax sit quod non audeat comedere nisi uiliter et parce, quatinus parcens multam pecuniam colligat: et hii sunt quos psalmista confundit, dicens: *Inimici eius terram lingent.*³]

1. Short texts "auara." 2. Most MSS. "incurrent." 3. *Psalm.* 71, 9.

CAP. II.

(Quod amatores Dei cum ipso iudicabunt, et de amore sciencie adquisite et Dei, et quod uerus amator nec ieiuniis nec abstinencia seu consiliis aut presumptione non errat nec fallitur.)

f. 70^b Animam humanam solius Dei capacem aliquid minus Deo implere non potest. Ideoque terreni amatores numquam saciantur. Requies ergo amatorum Christi est cum cor eorum in Dei amore per desiderium et cogitationem figitur, et amans et ardens canendo contemplatur. Suauissima siquidem est hec quies quam capit spiritus:—dum
f. 71 dulcissonum descendit diuinitus quo delectatur, et in impno iperlirico et ludifluo rapitur mens ad canendum delicias amoris eterni. Resonat iam quidem in ore laus Dei et Beate Uirginis in qua inestimabiliter gloriatur. Et hoc nimirum accidit¹ dum canentis cor igne celico funditus exuritur, et in eius similitudinem figuratur in quo almiphonum est, et amenum sapore² superno inebrians affectum, unde et affluit internis deliciis et canoro cogitatu gaudet in ardore dileccionis. Inestimabile quippe est hoc cunctis mortalibus, nec putat alienus ab eo tam suaue aliquid tamque mellifluum hominem posse percipere adhuc existentem in corpore quod corrumpitur et compede mortalitatis aggrauatur. Miratur eciam et possidens sed letatur pro ineffabili bonitate Dei, qui dat affluenter et non improperat, a quo accipit quod sentit. Porro cum habuerit illud magnum et uere magnum, (quia prorsus³ mortalibus pene incognitum), nunquam se prosperari putat si defuerit, semper amore languet, iugiter dum uigilat aut cantat aut cogitat de amore et amato suo; sed solus si fuerit liquidius canit.

Uerum ex quo quis illud acciperit nunquam deinceps ab illo plene recedit, quin semper maneat feruor canor aut

1. Short texts "accipit." 2. Short texts "sopore."

3. (g) here misses a page of the MS., continuing—"mortalibus pene contemplando, legendo meditando"—as p. 175.

dulcor, si omnia ista non assint; omnia autem simul manente nisi cum nimia infirmitate capitur uel pectoris seu lateris reprimatur, aut nimia fame uel siti quibus caro frangitur, uel nimis frigore calore uel itinere impediatur.¹ Oportet ergo ipsum qui in diuino amore uult canere uel canendo iubilare et ardere in solitudine existere, et in nimia abstinentia non uiuere nec superfluitati se aliquatenus exhibere. Melius tamen esset pro se si in modico nesciens excederet mensuram, dummodo bona intencione ad sustentandum naturam illud agat, quam si nimis ieiunio deficere inceperet et pre imbecillitate corporis canere non ualeret. f. 71b Sed sine dubio qui ad hoc eligitur fraude diaboli nec in comedendo nec in abstinendo superatur. Uerus enim Christi amator et a Christo doctus non maiori studio cauet superfluum quam diminutum. Incomparabiliter enim magis merebitur cum canoro gaudio, orando, contemplando, legendo, meditando, bene sed districte² comedendo, quam si sine illo semper ieiunaret panemque tantummodo aut herbas comederet iugiterque oraret et legeret. [Comedi³ ergo et bibi de hiis que meliora uidebantur; non quia delicias amaui sed ut natura sustentaretur in seruicio Dei et in iubilo Ihesu Christi, conformans me illis cum quibus morabar bono modo propter Christum, et ne sanctitatem fingerem ubi nulla est, et ne homines me nimis laudarent ubi minus essem laudabilis. Recessi eciam a plerisque non quia me communiter et duriori modo pauerunt, sed quia non concordauimus in moribus, uel propter aliam rationabilem causam. Audeo tamen dicere cum beato Iob: *stulti despiciebant me et cum recessissem ab eis detrahebant mihi.*⁴ Uerumtamen erubescunt cum me uiderint qui dixerunt me nullicubi uelle morari, nisi ubi delicate possem pasci. Melius enim est uidere quod contempnam quam desiderare quod non uideam.] Ieiunium⁵ nimirum ualet ad reprimenda carnalium

1. Cf. Prologue, which is obviously the work of the writer of this passage.

2. (f) "discrete." 3. (a) marks this passage. 4. *Iob*, 19, 18.

5. The compiler of the short text, having omitted, as usual, Rolle's autobiographical passage, again copies the text where he goes on to speak of the "semita contemplacionis."

uoluptatum desideria, et ad domandam indomitam mentis petulanciam. In illo autem qui contemplacionis² semitam ascendit per iubilum et ardorem amoris: iam quasi extincte iacent carnales concupiscencie. Mors enim malarum affectionum ad ipsum pertinet qui contemplacioni uacat, cuius eciam interior homo in aliam gloriam aliamque formam iam mutatur. Uiuu it ipse iam non ipse, uiuu it autem in se Christus, unde in ipsius amore liquefit et in seipso languescit, pene deficit pro dulcedine, uix subsistit pro amore.

Ipsius anima est que dicit, *Nunciate dilecto quia amore langueo*,¹ mori desidero, dissolui cupio, transire inardesco; "En,² morior amore! Descende Domine. Ueni, mi dilecte, et leua mea languore. En, amo, cano, estuo, intra me ferueo! Miserere miseri, iubendo me coram te presentari."

Qui habet hoc gaudium et in hac uita ita gloriatur, inspiratus est a Spiritu Sancto. Non potest errare; aget quicquid libet, securus est. Nullus mortalis potest ei dare tam salubre consilium, quemadmodum est illud quod in se habet ab immortalis Deo. Alii uero si consilium ei dare uoluerint, sine dubio errabunt, quia non nouerunt illud. Ipse autem non errabit quia etsi uoluerit assensum prebere persuasioni eorum non permittetur a Deo qui constringit eum ad suam uoluntatem, ut non illam pretereat. Unde de tali dicitur "*Spiritualis omnia iudicat et a nemine iudicatur*."³ Nemo autem tante presumptionis sit quod se talem cito suspicetur, quamuis mundum perfecte reliquerit, f. 72 solitariam uitam irreprehensibiliter egerit, atque in contemplacione supernorum exierit. Non uero omnibus contemplatiuis hec gracia conceditur, sed raro et paucissimis, qui summam quietem mentis et corporis capientes ad opus diuini amoris solummodo eliguntur. Difficile est talem hominem inuenire et quia rari sunt, ideoque cari habentur et desiderabiles sunt et amabiles coram Deo et hominibus, sed et angeli gaudent in exitu illorum ab hoc seculo, quibus

1. *Cant.*, 5, 8. 2. (i) "quum enim." (g) "en enim." 3. I *Cor.*, 2, 15.

deceat¹ angelica societas. Multi sunt quippe qui sepe in magna deuocione et suauitate preces suas Deo offerunt et dulcedinem contemplacionis orando uel meditando degustare possunt, qui non discurrunt sed manent in quiete.²

CAP. 12.

(De non iudicando alium, sed de agendo gracias; et de octo affectibus amoris Dei, et de consorcio mulierum uitando.)

¶ Siquis³ sancte uel iuste uiuat, peccatores et pessimos f. 16 non contempnat. Temptati enim cadunt quia non habent gratiam resistendi, quamquam per propriam maliciam a bono ad malum se conuertunt. Non potest quisquam bene operari et Deum amare, ac continens esse, nisi hoc sibi det Deus. Tu itaque qui inflaris quia bene egisti, quia te a carnalibus uoluptatibus restrinxisti, et asperam sustinuisti penitentiam unde et ab ore humano accepisti laudem: f. 16b memento quia nisi bonitas Christi tibi protexisset,⁴ in tantis uel in peioribus malis in quantis iste lapsus est cecidisses. Non uero a te habes uirtutem resistendi, sed ab illo cui dicitur *Diligam te domine fortitudo mea*.⁵ Si ergo nihil habes quod non accepisti, cur gloriaris quasi non acceperis? Ego autem gracias ago Deo meo,⁶ qui sine meritis meis pro

1. Short texts "occurret."

2. (j), f. 72, like the other short texts, omits cap. 12: but John Newton has annotated "Capitulum duodecimum require in tractu qui dicitur Oleum effusum nomen," i.e. in the chapters from the *Incendium* which here, as elsewhere, follow part of Rolle's comment on the *Canticles*.

3. This chapter in (j), f. 16, occurs among the selections from the *Incendium* found after the comment on the *Canticles* (called by John Newton the "Oleum effusum"). The scribe who copied the *Canticles* has not marked the transition to the *Incendium* passages, but Newton added a marginal note, "Capitulum duodeimum de incendio amoris."

4. So long texts. Short texts and selections after *Canticles*, "pepercisset." 5. *Psalm*. 17, 2.

6. This passage recalls the beginning of Peckham's *Canticum Pauperis pro Dilecto*, (*Bibliotheca franciscana ascetica medii aevi*, Tom. IV, 1905. Quaracchi). "Confitebor tibi Domine Rex, et collaudabo te Deum Salvatorem meum, quoniam non sustinuisti in morte meam animam miseram obdormire. Dum enim in adolescentiae deuiis oberarem, audiui vocem post tergum monentis," etc. The resemblance, suggested to me by Mr. A. G. Little, ends here.

bono meo et honore suo sic castigauit puerum suum, sic terruit seruum suum, ut dulce uideretur mihi delectabilia mundi, que pauca ac cito labencia sunt, fugere: quatinus penalia inferni que multa sunt et nunquam terminanda mererer euitare. Et rursum qui sic me docuit et docendo uirtutem tradidit, ut libenter presentem penitenciam ac tribulacionem tollerem, quatinus ad eternam delectacionem prosperitatemque plenissimam leuiter peruenirem. Quia, si uolumus, faciliter et sine magna asperitate possumus in hac uita perfecte penitere et nos purgare, dummodo omnia uicia destruimus quantum ualemus. In futuro autem, si non fuerimus hic purgati, inueniemus quod apostolus uerax est dicens: *Horrendum est incidere in manus Dei uiuentis*.¹ Domine Deus miserere mei: infancia mea stulta fuit, puericia mea uana, adolescencia mea immunda; sed nunc Domine Ihesu inflammatum est cor meum amore sancto, et renes mei commutati sunt, ut eciam tangere nolit anima mea pro amaritudine ea que prius pro dulcedine fuerunt cibi mei; et affectiones mee tales fiunt, quod non odi nisi peccatum, non timeo nisi offendere Deum, non gaudeo nisi in Deo. Non doleo nisi pro peccato, non amo nisi Deum, non spero nisi eum,² non me contristat nisi culpa, nec delectat nisi Christus.

f. 17 Uerumtamen iamdudum a tribus mulieribus dignam merito reprehensionem accepi. Una me reprehendit quia cupiens corrigere insaniam earum in superfluitate et mollicie uestium, ornatum illarum immoderatum nimis inspexi; que dixit quod non debui eas tam considerare ut scirem utrum essent cornute³ uel non, et ut mihi uidetur bene me redarguit, et erubescere fecit.

Alia me reprehendit quia de mammis eius grossis loquebar quasi me delectarent, que ait: "Quid ad me pertinet si essent parue uel magne?" et hec similiter recte locuta est.

Tercia me in ioco tangens quod minabar quasi rude eam tangere uellem,⁴ uel tetigi, dixit: "Quiesce frater," quasi

1. *Heb.*, 10, 31. 2. (a) "in eum." 3. "horned," i.e. of the head-dresses worn at the date. See p. 42. 4. Sic; mixed construction.

dixisset, "Non pertinet ad statum tuum, scilicet heremiticum, ludere cum mulieribus"; et illa etiam non immerito me confundebat; debui enim magis sustinuisse quam aliquid huiusmodi intulisse. Nam rediens ad meipsum gratias egi Deo meo quia per illarum uerba me bonum docuit, et uiam suauiore[m] quam antea cognoui mihi ostendit, ut amplius operarem gratiam Christi: non inueniar reprehensibilis coram mulieribus in hac parte.

Quarta mulier cui admodum familiaris eram, non me reprehendendo sed quasi contempnendo dixit: "Nihil habes nisi pulchrum uisum et pulchrum uerbum: opus nullum habes." Et ideo melius estimo earum specialitate carere quam in earum manus incidere; que modum nesciunt tenere siue in amore siue in contemptu. Mihi autem ista contigerunt quod salutem earum procurau[i], non quod in eis aliquod illicitum appetiui, cum quibus sustentacionem per aliquod tempus accepi corporalem]

CAP. 13.

(Quod uita solitaria seu heremitica uitam communem et mixtam precellit; et quomodo peruenit ad incendium amoris et de suauitate iubili.)

Extiterunt aliqui, et adhuc forte superstites sunt, qui f. 72 communem uitam uite solitarie omnino preponunt, dicentes nos debere ad congregacionem currere si ad summam perfectionem cupimus peruenire.¹ Contra quos non est multum disputandum, eo quod illam solam uitam laudibus efferunt quam uel tenere cupiunt uel saltem ad modicum cognouerunt. Solitariam uero uitam idcirco non laudant quia ignorant. Est enim uita quam nemo in carne uiuens potest cognoscere, nisi ille cui a Deo donatum est habere, et nullus certe de hac re recte iudicat, de qua adhuc illi incertum est, quid et quomodo agat. Sine dubio scio si eam agnoscerent, plus aliis laudarent.

Alii peius errant qui solitariam uitam reprehendere et

1. (g) "uenire."

infamare non cessant, dicentes *Ue soli!* non exponentes solum, "sine Deo," sed "sine socio." Ille enim solus est cum quo Deus non est.¹ Quia cum ceciderit in mortem, statim ad tormenta rapitur, et a uisione glorie Dei et sanctorum sine fine sequestratur. Porro qui solitariam
 f. 72b uitam pro Deo eligit et eam recto modo ducit: non "*Ue*" sed "*Uenusta uirtus*" aderit, et memoria nominis Ihesu iugiter delectabit; et quo sine humano solacio uitam pro Deo non metuunt accipere, eo uberius diuina consolacione donabuntur exultare. Crebras enim uisitaciones spirituales accipiunt, quas in congregacione positi penitus ignorabunt. Unde ad dilectam animam dicitur: "*Ducam eam in solitudinem et loquar ad cor eius.*"² Docti enim sunt quidam diuinitus pro Christo solitudinem appetere, singulare propositum tenere, qui statim ut liberius ac deuocius Deo seruiant, relicto communi habitu, seculi transitoria queque despiciunt et abiciunt, temporalia mentis sublimitate transcendunt, sola eterna gaudia desiderant, deuocioni et contemplacioni uacant, et ad amandum Christum³ totum sui temporis⁴ studium non occupare cessant. Quorum plerique etsi inter homines remoti commorantur: a celestibus tamen desideriis non titubant, quia illorum mentes ab impiorum conuersacione longe distant.

Recte itaque heremite singulare propositum habent, in caritate Dei et proximi uiuunt, laudem temporalem despiciunt, uisus hominum pro posse fugiunt, omnes digniores se putant, continue deuocioni mentes suas prebent, ocium odiunt, uoluptatibus carnalibus uiriliter resistunt, celescia sapiunt et ardentem querunt, terrena non cupiunt sed derelinquunt,⁵ suauitate oracionum delectantur. Uerum quidam eorum eterne refeccionis dulcedinem senciunt, immo et casti corde et corpore, intemerato mentis oculo, celestes ciues et Deum speculantur; quia per amarum poculum penitencie et magnum laborem⁶ amauerunt; et iam superne contem-

1. Perhaps a reference to Hugh of S. Victor's "Non est solitarius cum quo est Deus," in the *De arrha anime*. *Patrol. Lat.* clxxvi, 954, cf. *Eccles.* 4, 10.

2. *Hosea*, 2, 14. 3. Short texts "Deum Christum." 4. (g) "corporis."
 5. (a) "relinquunt." 6. (g) "laborem uite."

placionis amore succensi, soli Deo uacare et regnum Christi expectare meruerunt.

Magna est igitur uita heremitica si magnifice agatur. Nam et beatus Maglorius¹ qui fuit miraculis plenus et a puericia uisitacione angelica gauisus, cum iuxta prophetiam predecessoris eius beati Sampsonis,¹ fuisset factus archiepiscopus, et ecclesiam Dei diu et laudabiliter rexisset, f. 73 uisitante eum angelo monitus, dimisso archiepiscopatu, uitam elegit heremiticam,² et in fine uite significatur est ei transitus eius.

Similiter beatus Cuthbertus³ ab episcopatu ad anachoriticam uitam transiuit. Si ergo ad maius meritum assequendum tales uiri sic fecerunt, quis sane mentis audebit aliquem statum in ecclesia uite solitarie preferre? In hac enim nullis exterioribus rebus se occupant, sed solummodo superne contemplacioni uacant, ut in amore Christi iugiter ferueant et mundi sollicitudines perfecte postponant. Unde et intra se sonus celicus resonat, melosque dulciffuum⁴ solitarium iocundat; a quo inter multos positum tumultus distrahit, et non nisi raro cogitare uel orare sinit. De quo solitario psalmista in amantis impnis loquitur dicens: *Transibo in locum tabernaculi admirabilis usque ad domum Dei*,⁵ et modum transeundi in iubilo et laude canora describit subdens, *In uoce exultacionis et confessionis, sonus epulantis*.⁶ Et quod necessaria sit⁷ solitudo extra strepitum et cantum corporalem ad hoc, ut quis illud sonorum gaudium capiat, et retineat iubilando et canendo, alibi aperte⁸ indicat: *Elongaui inquit fugiens et mansi in solitudine*.⁹ Conatur enim iugiter in hac uita igne Spiritus

1. For the *Vita S. Maglorii* see Bolland. *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct 24, x, 782-91; also *Analacta Bollandiana*, viii, 372-81; xii, 309; xviii, 183; xix, p. 237. S. Maglorius, after leaving his "archipraesulatus" of Dol, seems actually to have founded a monastery in Sark, whence his relics were translated to Lehon and Paris. For an account of the ceremonial which attended the translation of his relics in 1318 (probably during Rolle's years in Oxford), see Claude Chastellain, *Martyrol. Univ.*, p. 805.

2. (a) "monitus est ut, dimisso archiepiscopatu, uitam elegeret heremiticam." (j) uncorrected, "monitu diuino," etc.

3. See p. 46. 4. (f) (j) uncorrected, "dulciffuus." 5. *Psalm.* 41, 5. 6. *Psalm.* 41, 5. 7. (a) (f) (i) "est." 8. (g) "a parte." 9. *Psalm.* 54, 8.

Sancti inardescere, et in amoris gaudio captus et consolatus, diuinitus exultare.

Perfectus enim solitarius in diuino amore uehementer ardet, et dum supra se in excessum mentis per contemplationem rapitur, usque ad canorum iubilum et sonum celicum gaudens subleuatur. Et talis quippe assimilatur f. 73b seraphym, ardens utique intra se caritati incomparabili atque constantissima, cuius cor configuratur igni diuino urens et lucens superferuide fertur in amatum. Et siquidem assumetur subito post hanc ad summas sedes celicolarum, ut in loco luciferi serene subsistat; quia tam ardens amore ultra quam aperiri potest, solam Conditoris sui gloriam quesuit, et humiliter incedens nec supra peccatores se exaltauit.

CAP. 14.

(De commendacione uite solitarie et de primis amatoribus eiusdem; et quod amor Dei in feruore canore et dulcore consistit et quod quies est necessaria; et tales ab illusionibus preseruantur et prelaciis non preficiuntur.)

Beatus Iob, inter flagella edoctus a Spiritu Sancto, multiplicem sanctorem heremitarum commendacionem in unum complectitur, dicens: *Quis dimisit onagrum liberum etc.*¹ Primo ergo commendata libertate gracie cum dicit: *Quis dimisit onagrum liberum.* Secundo, a carnalium affectuum dispositione cum ait: *et uincula eius soluit.* Tercio, a solitaria conuersacione dum addit, *dedit ei domum in solitudine.* Quarto, a desiderio beatitudinis eterne cum dicit: *et tabernaculum eius in terra salsuginis.* Salsugo enim situm non extinguit sed amplius accendit. Sic et isti quo et² aliquid de dulcedine uite eterne perceperunt, eo ad apprehendum et gustandum magis inardescunt.

Porro sanctus Iohannes Baptista, post Christum princeps heremitarum, nullo affectu retardante, uitam solitariam

1. *Iob*, 39, 5, 6. 2. Variety in order of words in both long and short texts.

elegit; et alii similiter elegerunt, tanquam locusta qui, dicente Salomone, ducem et regem ac preceptorem non habet; et per turmas egreditur uirtutum et donorum.¹ Sunt autem uincula nature et culpe que in eis Dominus soluit, et uincula caritatis confirmauit. Domus eciam solitudinis potest dici quies pectoris,² quia sancti heremite, a tumultibus et uiciis seculi segregati, suauitatem clare consciencie Christo largiente accipiunt, et amoris eterni canentes gaudium, in feruore amenissimo refectionis quiescunt. Et quamuis asperis et aduersis in corpore pungantur,³ canorem tamen et ardorem in animo retinent inconcusse.

Est autem et mala solitudo, scilicet superbie, quando quis uel se solum prefert aliis, uel uiribus liberi arbitrii quod f. 74 habet ascribit. De quo dicitur *Ue soli: Si ceciderit non habet subleuantem.*⁴ In principio certe conuersionis heremite (non dico girouagi⁵ qui sunt scandalum heremitarum), multis et diuersis temptationibus fatigantur. Sed post tempestatem malorum motuum, Deus serenitatem infundit sanctorum desiderorum, ut si uiriliter exercuerint, in lacrimando, meditando et orando solum Christi amorem querendo, post modicum tempus magis uidebuntur sibi uiuere in deliciis quam in lacrimis uel in anxietate laboris. Habebunt enim quem amauerunt, quem quesierunt, quem desiderauerunt: et tunc gaudebunt et non lugebunt. Quid est enim gaudere, nisi amatum bonum obtinere, de ipso cogitare, in ipso quiescere? Suauis nimirum iocunditas ubi uere amantes conueniunt, et mutua⁶ assunt solacia contactuum dilectorum. Inexplicabile namque est desiderium ardentem amantium, et mutua uisio et allocutio ipsis dulcis⁷ est super mel et fauum.

Ieremias autem uitam solitariam commendans dicit: *Bonum est uiro cum portauerit iugum Domini ab adolescentia sua. Sedebit solitarius et tacebit et leuabit se supra*

1. Cf. *Prov.* 30, 27.

2. (g) (i) and Misyn, "peccatoris." 3. (i) "pugnantur."

4. *Ecclesiastes*, 4, 10.

5. *Reg. S. Ben*, cap. I, "Proprie appellati monachi, qui monasteriis suis relictis per diuersas cellas, nescio qua pietatis uana specie uagabantur."

6. (g) "mutata." 7. (g) "dilectis."

*se*¹ scilicet per desiderium et contemplacionem eternorum. Unde in Ecclesiastico *Natus non est in terra uir qualis Ennok*² nam et ipse ereptus³ est de terra, quia contemplatiui aliis superiores sunt, et in excellencia operis et in feruore amoris. Amor namque inhabitat cor solitarii, si nihil querat uani dominii.⁴ Feruet hinc funditus et languet
 f. 74b lumini, cum sic sinceriter sapit celescia; et canit mellite sine mesticia, clamorem efferens dilecto nobili sicut seraphicum, quia conformitur in mente amorosa dicitur: "En amans ardeo anhelans auide!" Sic igne uritur inestimabili amantis anima et flamma perforans queque letificat ac scintillat celicus. (Nec finem facio feruens feliciter, sed semper properans ad hoc quod diligo, mors est mihi suavis et segura.) Sanctus quidem solitarius quia pro Salvatore sedere sustinuit in solitudine, sedem accipiet in celestibus auream et excellentem inter ordines⁵ angelorum, et quia uilibus uestibus pro amore Auctoris induebatur, tunicam talarem et eternam in claritate Conditoris confectam induet. Accipiet itaque splendorem in facie premirificum quia carnem domans faciem pallidam et macilentam habere non erubuit; palliumque pulcherrimum lapidibus preciosis intextum pro despectis pannis inter paradiscolas potestates portabit in perpetuum. Uerum et quia uicia euacuans, ac in uenustate uisibilis uite non uiuens, species spurcie prorsus abiecit. In ardore amoris omnipotentis sonum in se suscipit suauissimum et celicum, et mela⁶ modulancium in caritatiuo canore meruit menti eius melliflue inmitti. Audaciter igitur sine horrore exit ab hoc exilio, audiens in extremis angelicam harmoniam, et gradiens cum gaudio qui ardentissime amauit, assumitur in aulam eternam honorabilius ad gloriosissimum gradum, ut scilicet subsistat cum seraphym in sede suprema.

Porro, ut potui in scripturis perscrutari, inueni et cognoui

1. *Ier.*, 3, 28.

2. *Ecclesiasticus*, 49, 16.

3. (g) "raptus."

(j) uncorrected, "exceptus."

4. (i) "diuini."

5. (g) "choros."

6. (g) "melum."

Rolle's more usual word for "melody." Cf. his title *Melum contemplatiuorum*.

quidem quod summus amor Christi in tribus consistit : in *feruore*, in *canore*, et in *dulcore* ; et hec tria ego expertus sum in mente non posse diu persistere sine magna quiete. Ut si uelim stando uel ambulando contemplari, uel procumbendo, uidebam me multum ab illis deficere, et quasi f. 75 desolatum me existimare.¹ Unde hac necessitate compulsus ut in summa deuocione quam habere possem et perseuerrare, sedere elegi. Huius rei causa non ignoro quia si homo multum stet uel ambulet corpus eius fatigatur et sic impeditur anima et quodammodo lacescit² pre onere. Et non est in sua summa quiete, et per consequens nec in perfeccione, quia secundum philosophum, sedendo et quiescendo fit anima prudens. Qui ergo adhuc magis stando quam sedendo in diuinis delectatur, sciat se a contemplationis culmine longe distare. Cumque uero, in illis tribus que sunt signa perfectissimi amoris, summa perfeccio christiane religionis sine omni ambiguitate inueniatur, et ego iam, pro modulo capacitatis mee, ea Ihesu largiente accepi, nec tamen sanctis qui in eis effulserunt³ me audeam adequare, quia forte illa perfeccius perceperunt. Insistam adhuc uirtute qua potero ut amem ardentius, canam liquidius, dulcedinem amoris senciam amplius.

Erratis enim, fratres, si putatis nunc nullos tam sanctos ut prophete uel apostoli fuerunt. Feruorem autem uoco, quando mens amore eterno ueraciter incenditur, et cor eodem modo amore ardere non estimatiue sed realiter sentitur. Cor enim in igne conuersum sensum prebet incendii amoris. Canorem uoco quando iam in animo, abundante ardore, suscipitur suauitas laudis eterne, ac cogitatus in canticum conuertitur, et mens in mellifluum melos immoratur. Hec duo non in ocio percipiuntur, sed in summa deuocione, ex quibus tercium, scilicet, dulcedo inestimabilis adest. Feruor enim et canor mirabilem in anima causant dulcorem⁴; et eciam ob nimiam dulcedinem illa causari possunt.

1. Cf. Prologue, p. 146.

2. (a) "laccessit." (i) "laxescit."

3. Short texts "fulserunt."

4. See p. 48n.

f. 75b Non enim est in ipsa affluentia aliqua deceptio, sed potius omnium actuum consummatissima perfectio, quemadmodum quidam contemplatiue uite ignari per demonium meridianum¹ in quadam deuocione falsa et ficta falluntur, quia putant se summos cum inferiores sunt. Sed anima in qua tria predicta concurrunt penitus imperforabilis manet a sagittis inimici, dum iugiter dilectum cogitans intencione irrepercutsa se erigit ad superos et excitat ad amandum. Et non miremini si anime ita in amore ordinate mandetur melodia, et camenam capiat continue consolatoriam ab amatore eius. Uiuuit enim quasi non esset sub uanitate, suffulta celicus ut ardeat utique in eternum in increatum calorem, ut nunquam cadat, cum itaque incessanter ardentique amat, sicut supradictum est, in se senciatur feruorem felicissimum et sciat se subtiliter exuri igne eterni amoris, persenciens dilectissimum suum in desiderato dulcore, in canticum glorie mutatur meditacio, et natura innouata almi-phona inuoluitur amenitate. Quamobrem concessit ei Conditor quem toto corde concupiscit, transire sine timore et tristitia a corpore corruptibili, ut absque merore mortis mundum deserat; que amica lucis et inimica tenebrarum nil nisi uitam amabat.

Huiusmodi autem homines, qui tam alte assumuntur ad amorem, nec officiis uel prelacionibus exterioribus debent elegi, necque ad aliquod seculare negocium uocari. Similes sunt lapidi topazio qui raro inuenitur, et ideo preciosus et rarus ualde habetur; cui insunt duo colores: unus purissimus est quasi aurum, et alter clarus quasi celum, cum serenum est. Uincitque claritates omnium gemmarum, f. 76 nec est aliqua res pulchrior ad uidendum. Siquis eum pollire uoluerit, obscuratur; si uero per se reliquitur pulchritudo eius retinetur. Sic sancti contemplatiui uiri, de quibus prefati sumus, rarissimi sunt et ideo carissimi. Auro similes sunt propter eminentem feruorem caritatis, et celo propter claritatem celestis conuersacionis, qui omnium sanctorum uitam excedunt, et ideo pulchriores et candidi-

1. cf. *Psalm.* 90, 6.

ores inter gemmas, scilicet, electos; qui hanc solam uitam amantes et habentes clariores sunt omnibus aliis hominibus qui uel sunt uel fuerunt. Qui autem tales uoluerit polliri,¹ scilicet dignitatibus honorare,² eorum ardorem nititur minuere, pulchritudinemque ac claritatem quodammodo obfuscare. Ipsi autem si accipere honorem principatus adqueuerint, fient profecto uiliores et minoris meriti. Relinquendi ergo sunt suis studiis uacare ut eorum claritas augeatur.³

CAP. 15.⁴

(Quomodo et quanto tempore prouectus est ad uitam solitariam, amoris iubilum, et de locorum mutacione.)

【Cum⁵ infeliciter florerem et iuuentus uigilantis adoles- f. 17
cencie iam aduenisset, affuit⁶ gracia Conditoris, qui petulanciam temporalis⁷ forme restrinxit, et ad incorporeos amplexus desiderandos conuertit, animamque ab immis eleuans, transtulit ad superna, ut amplius utique arderem ad eternitatis amenitatem quam unquam antea in aliquo carnali complexu, uel eciam mundiali⁸ mollicia delectabar. Processum quidem, si propalare uolo, solitariam uitam predicare me oportet, nam spirans⁹ spiritus ad hanc assequendam et amandam intencionem meam intendebat; quam deinceps pro modulo infirmitatis mee, ducere curauī. Mansi tamen inter eos qui in mundanis floruerunt, et accepi ab eis alimenta, blandicias quoque que sepe bellatores inclitos ab f. 17b
altitudine ad infima trahere possent audiui. Sed huiusmodi propter unum abiciens,¹⁰ assumptus est animus meus ad

1. (g) "polire." 2. (j) uncorrected, "abundare."

3. (j), f. 76. John Newton adds: "Capitulum sextum decimum in tractatu qui dicitur oleum effusum."

4. This chapter is found separately in some MSS., and also occurs in the selections from the *Incendium* found after Rolle's *Canticles*. It was printed in the Cologne edition of Rolle's works, 1536, under the title of *De incendio amoris*, together with another short passage of the *Incendium* often found after the *Canticles*, and with the fourth section of the *Canticles*, —the *Adolescentule dilexerunt te nimis*.

5. (w) "dum." 6. (l) "in gracia." (f) "et gracia." 7. (w) "corporalis."

8. (w) "mundana." 9. (w) "aspirans."

10. *Arundel MS.* 507, f. 49b, has only selections from this chapter, not keeping very closely to the text: it differs at this point.

amorem Auctoris,¹ et desiderans in eterna dulcedine delectari, animam meam dedi ut in deuotione diligere[m] Christum, quod utique ab amato suo accepit, ut iam illi solitudo suauissima appareat, et cuncta solacia quibus error hominum abundat pro nihilo dicat.

Solebam profecto quietam querere, quamuis de uno loco ad alium transire.² Cellas namque deserere ex rationabili cause malum non est heremitis, et iterum ad easdem, si congruum uideatur, redire; quidam enim sanctorum patrum sic fecerunt, etsi³ paciantur pro hoc murmur hominum, (non tamen bonorum). Mali uero malum loquuntur, quod et idem facerent si ibidem perstetissent, quia consuetum est eis. De latrina amoto operculo, non exalat nisi fetor. Et mali loquentes ex habundancia cordis loquuntur, in quo uenenum aspidum latet. Hoc cognoui quod quanto magis contra me uerbis detractoriis homines insanierunt, tanto amplius in profectu spirituali succreui. Nam eos pessimos detractores habui, quos prius amicos fidos putau[im].⁴ Denique non cessau[im] ab hiis que utilia erant anime mee⁴ propter uerba illorum, immo exercui studium et semper inueni Deum fauentem. Recolui quod scriptum est *Maledicent illi et tu benedices*⁵ etc. Et per processus temporum datus est mihi profectus spiritualium gaudiorum.

f. 18 Ab⁶ inicio namque alteracionis uite mee et mentis usque

1. (*k*) "amatoris." 2. (*k*) and (*j*) uncorrected, "transirem."

3. (*l*) "et quamuis."

4. (*w*) omits this sentence, which is found in all the other long texts,—which tells against the theory that it is Rolle's own MS. It also omits "erant anime mee."

5. *Psalm.* 108, 28.

6. (*l*), f. 99b and (*w*), f. 112b, both contain a marginal note, which is merely a slight compression of the following passage. The note was not compiled from the quotations from this chapter in the *Office*, which have small verbal variations. (*l*) keeps slightly nearer the text than the (*w*), and in it the note runs: "Nota quod ab inicio alteracionis uite et mentis usque ad apercionem hoscii, ut superos contempleretur oculus cordis, effluerunt tres anni exceptis tribus mensibus. Oscio manente aperte usque ad tempus quo in corde realiter sensiebatur calor eterni amoris, annus unus plene effluxit. Flagrante autem sensibiliter calore et inestimabiliter suauis usque ad infusionem et percepcionem soni celestis et spiritualis dimidius annus et tres menses et aliquot hebdomade effluerunt. Unde ab inicio mutati animi usque ad gradum supremum in quo canor iubilus personaretur, quattuor anni et circa tres menses effluerunt. Hic nempe scitur cum

ad apercionem hoscii celestis, ut reuelata facie oculus cordis superos contemplaretur, et uideret qua uia amatum suum quereret, et ad ipsum iugiter anhelaret, effluerunt tres anni, exceptis tribus uel quattuor mensibus. Manente siquidem hoscio aperto usque ad tempus in quo in corde realiter senciebatur calor eterni amoris, annus unus pene transiuit. Sedebam quippe in quadam capella, et dum suauitate oracionis uel meditacionis multum delectarer, subito sentiui¹ in me ardorem insolitum et iocundum. Sed cum prius dubitando a quo esset, per longum tempus expertus sum non a creatura sed a Creatore esse,² quia feruenciolem et iocundiolem inueni.³ Flagrante autem sensibiliter calore illo inestimabiliter suauis usque ad infusionem et perceptionem soni celestis uel spiritualis, qui ad canticum pertinet laudis eterne et suauitatem inuisibilis melodie, que sciri et audiri non potest nisi ab eo qui accipit, quem oportet esse mundatum et segregatum a terra,⁴ dimidius annus et tres menses et aliquot ebdomade effluerunt.

Dum enim in eadem capella sederem, et in nocte ante cenam psalmos prout potui decantarem, quasi tinnitum psallencium uel potius canencium supra me ascoltaui. Cumque celestibus eciam orando toto desiderio intenderem, nescio quomodo mox in me concentum canorum sensi, et delectabilissimam armoniam celicus excepi, mecum manentem in mente. Nam cogitacio mea continuo in carmen canorum commutabatur, et quasi odas⁵ habui meditando, et eciam oracionibus ipsis et psalmodia eundem sonum

prioribus dispositiuis ad illum permanet usque in finem. Hic tamen non modicum proficit, sed in alium statum non ascendit; [(w) 'abscondit.'] Immo quasi consummatus [(w) 'consumptus'] quiescit; gracias Deo laudes incessanter, amen. In nocte die uisitacionis; [(w) 'purificacionis'] Beate Marie uirginis dictum mihi fuit in sompnis, anno domini m^occc^oxlili^o annis duodecim uiues, amen." This conclusion to the note suggests that its compiler copied a memorandum made by Rolle himself as to his dream: I do not think he was the scribe of either (l) or (w). For the "window" cf. pp. 239, 246, 249.

1. (k) "sensi." 2. This description is almost identical with that given in the Prologue. 3. (w) "me inueni." 4. (w) (l) "turba."

5. Ducange "oda" = "canticum." Ducange shows that Rolle's few Greek words,— "oda," "cauma," "pneuma," "melos,"—were in fairly common use in mediæval Latin.

edidi. Deinceps usque ad canendum que prius dixeram, pre affluentia suauitatis interne prorupi, occulte quidem, quia tantummodo coram Conditore meo. Non cognitus eram ab hiis qui me cernebant, ne si sciissent me supra modum honorassent, et sic perdidissem partem floris pulcherrime, et decidissem in desolacionem. Interea mirum me arripuit, eo quod assumptus essem ad tantam iocunditatem, dum exul essem, et quia dederat mihi Deus dona que petere nesciui, nec putauit tale quid nec eciam sanctissimum, in hac uita accepisse. Proinde arbitror hoc nulli datum meritis, sed gratis cui uoluerit Christus. Puto tamen neminem illud accepturum,¹ nisi specialiter nomen Ihesum diligat, et eciam in tantum honoret ut ab eius memoria numquam, excepto sompno, recedere permittat. Cui hoc facere datum² est, estimo quod et illud assequetur. Unde ab initio mutati animi usque ad supremum amoris³ Christi gradum, quem ego attingere Deo dante ualebam, in quo gradu cum canoro iubilo diuinas laudes personarem: quattuor annos et circa tres menses habui. Hic nempe cum prioribus ad ipsum dispositiuis status permanet⁴ usque in finem. Uerum eciam post mortem erit perfeccior, quia hic gaudium amoris, incendiumue caritatis incipitur, et in celesti regno gloriosissimam accipiet consummacionem.⁵ Et quidem in hac uita in hiis gradibus constitutus, non modicum proficit sed in alium statum non ascendit, immo quasi in gracia confirmatus ut mortalis potest quiescit. Unde gracias Deo, laudes ei incessanter desidero referre: Qui et in angusciis molesciisque ac persecucionibus meis tribuit solacium, et inter prosperitates ac blandimenta cum securitate me facit eternam expectare coronam.

Hinc tibi, Ihesu, iubilans, laudes soluo iugiter, qui me minimum et miserum dignatus es inmiscere mellifluis ministris, qui modulos melodie ex spiritu sed celicus emanant. Agam assidue gracias cum gaudio, quia conformem me fecisti canentibus preclare per claritatem

1. (*l*) "acceptum." 2. (*w*) "donatum." 3. (*l*) "amorem."

4. Short texts "pertinent."

5. *Arundel MS.* 507, f. 50, ends this chapter here.

consciencie, in anima ardente eterno amore, dum amat ¹ et estuat incendio sedente, mente mutata, calore autem calente desiderio uehementer dilatato. Et uera uenustas amabilis uirtutis uiget sine uicio in conspectu Creatoris, sic iubilus se ingerens, cum canore iocundo letificat languentem et releuat labores. Multa ² sunt munera mirifica ac magna, sed nulla sunt talia inter³ uie dona que tam rare ⁴ confirmant spem specie inuisibilis uite in animo amante, aut que sic suauiter sedentem consolantur et rapiunt ad cacumen contemplacionis, uel ad consonanciam angelice laudis. Ecce fratres, narraui uobis quomodo perueni ad incendium amoris: non ut me laudetis sed Deum meum glorificetis, a quo accepi quicquid bonum habui, ut et uos, cogitantes quod ⁵ cuncta sub sole uanitas, ad imitandum non ad detrahendum incitemini】⁶

CAP. 16.

(Oracio pauperis et amantis, et mori cupientis, et de laude caritatis diuine.)

Deuotus pauper cum angitur pre defectu, si uelit orare f. 76 potest et dicere: "Domine Deus meus, Ihesu Christe, miserere mei et inspicere digneris grave iugum quod impositum est super corpus meum, unde et animam meam deprimere non tardat. Defecit enim caro mea in erumpnis huius uite, propter quod uirtus eciam spiritualis cogitur fatigari. Quod enim de hoc mundo et in hoc mundo habui, totum consumpsi et nihil superest, nisi ut ad aliud seculum animam meam perducas 【ubi ⁷ est thesaurus meus precio-

1. *Sic.* Rolle is still apparently referring to himself.

2. (*l*) "multis." 3. (*l*) "intra." 4. (*l*) "care."

5. (*l*) adds a few sentences here, applying the passage specially to saints, virgins, martyrs, doctors.

6. (*j*), f. 18b continues with a passage from *Incendium*. "Ex magno amoris incendio—gaudebunt. Explicit oleum effusum secundum Hampoll." See p. 2n. (*i*), a short text, has "Explicit quomodo perueni ad incendium amoris."

7. Short texts have—"perducas, ubi est thesaurus meus et totum desiderium cordis me. Et propter te, quia tunc habebō et uidebō perfecte, eciam ipsam mortem alloquor. O mors ubi moraris," etc.

sissimus et substantia mea ditissima et indeficiens consistit. Unde sine defectu uiuam, sine dolore gaudeam, sine fastidio fruar, et te amando, te uidendo, in te iubilando, eternaliter saciabor. Tu es enim thesaurus meus]. O mors ubi moraris? cur tam tarde uenis ad uiuentem, sed mortalem cur non amplecteris te desiderantem? Quis f. 76b excogitare sufficet tam dulcedinem qui es finis suspirii, principium desiderii, porta indeficientis gaudii optati? Tu es terminus luctuum, meta laboris, initium fructuum, ianua gaudiorum. En, estuo, anhelio ad te; si ueneris, statim saluus ero.¹ Ex amore namque raptus non possum plene perfrui quod cupio, donec gustauero gaudium quod daturus es. Siquidem si oportet me mortalem, immo quia oportet per te transire, quemadmodum transierunt omnes patres mei; rogo non multum differas, diu non elongeris a me. Ecce enim amore langueo, mori desidero, ad te inardesco. Sed nimirum non propter te sed propter Saluatorem² meum Ihesum, quem postquam habuero uidere spero in eternum. O mors quam bonum est iudicium tuum homini indigenti, cuius tamen anima amore melliflua facta est, homini siquidem Christum amanti, celescia speculanti, igne Spiritus Sancti suauiter exurenti!"

Capitur quippe post mortem ad melos angelicum, quia f. 77 etiam in musica ex spiritu purgato proficiente³ immoratur. Nam et in melo morietur premirifico, qui mellifluum nomen uiuens medullitus meditatatur, atque obuiantibus cum himpnis olimpicis agminibus, cum honore assumetur in aulam imperatoris⁴ eterni, assistens inter celicolas in sede beata. Ad hoc autem eum caritas perduxit, ut tam delicate interius uiueret, et omnia que occidunt letanter sustineret, mortemque non cum horrore sed cum dulcore cogitaret: immo tunc se uere uiuere arbitratur, quando ab hac luce transire illi donatum est.

O dulcis caritas, tu es plane dulcedo carissima, que mentes quam tuo capis amori, tam clare inebrias, quod cito cuncta

1. Cf. p. 278, concluding sentences of short text and long text.

2. Short texts. "Sed nimirum propter Saluatorem meum Ihesum,—"

3. Short texts "proficiente."

4. Cf. Prologue, p. 146.

transitoria. et uana gaudia facis despicere, et in tuis solummodo desideriiis mirabiliter anhelare. Uenisti ad me, et ecce omnia interiora precordia anime mee suauitate amenitatis melliphone replentur, et abundant feruencia gaudio spirituali. Inde etenim amore languero floris prefulgidi, et uror intime ignis incendio. Abirem utinam ab huius exilii inhabitatione!¹ Calet namque qualiter quis non cogitat, nisi qui senserit in se solacium, cor canens carmine, et cura captum caritatis. Est namque hoc amenissimum quod hinc f. 77b accipio, et fere morior dum fit sic funditus amore feruido, iam dilectissimus donet ut desinam. Quia mors, quam multi metuunt, mihi esset ut melos musice, quanquam iam, tanquam in paradiso positus, subsistam, sedens in solitudine, illic suauiter sonans amorosum canticum, in deliciis quas dedit mihi dilectus.

CAP. 17.

(Quomodo perfectus amor adquiritur mundicia et dilectione; et de amore imperfecto; et pulchritudine; et de triplici ui amoris diuini; et de diuitibus, pauperibus, et elemosina.)

Ex munditate consciencie, et ex habundancia spiritualis leticie, et iocunditatis interne, surgit cantus glorie et ardor dilectionis interne in mente ueraciter amante. Nimirum in hunc modum amans amorem habet habitum perfectum, feruore magnum, motu omnino in Deum directum, nullo impedimento ab amato remotum, sine contradiccione inanum cogitationum Christo inherentem, in Ihesu perhenniter f. 78 gaudentem, ab eo nunquam distractum, malis nunquam illectum, quem nunquam musce morientes² decipiunt uel depellunt a suauitate unguenti. Mundus, caro, diabolus in ipso nullum effectum habent quamuis impugnent, sed conterit illos sub pedibus eius, eorum fortitudinem pro nihilo ducens, feruet sine conflictu, amat cum impetu, canit cum dulcedine, splendet cum calore, delectatur in Deo sine

1. Cf. Prologue, p. 145. 2. Cf. *Ecclesiastes*, 10, 1.

resistencia, contemplatur cum ascensione irreuerberata. Omnia uincit, omnia superat, nihil sibi impossibile uidetur de omnibus que affectat. Dum enim quis Christum tota uirtute sua amare nititur; magnam profecto in se eterne uite suauitatem experitur.

Ad Christum quidem conuertimur si ipsum tota mente nostra diligere conamur. Nam tam admiralibis ¹ res Deus est, et tam delectabilis ad uidendum, quod stupeo quemquam tamen ² posse desipere et deuiare, quod animo non intendat ad uisionem eius.

Non enim qui magna et multa agit magnus est, sed qui multum diligit Christum, hic magnus est et Dei dilectus. Nam philosophi multum laborauerunt, et tamen sine fructu euanuerunt, et multi qui christiani uidebantur magna egerunt et mira demonstraerunt, et saluari non meruerunt. Quia non facientibus sed diligentibus Deum est habundantia celestis corone.

f. 78b Peto Domine Ihesu largiri mihi in amore tuo motum sine mensura, affectum sine modo, languorem sine ordine, ardorem sine discrecione. Eo enim amor tui est nobilior, quo impetuosior, quia nec ratione restringitur, nec metu concutitur, neque iudicio temperatur.

Nullus unquam beacior erit, quam qui pre amoris magnitudine mori poterit. Nimis enim amare nulla creatura potest. In omnibus aliis rebus, omne quod fit nimium uertitur in uiciam; sed uirtus amoris quanto plus excedit, tanto gloriosior erit. Languet enim amans si non habeat iuxta se per speciem quod amat. Ideo dicitur "*Nunciate dilecto quia amore langueo*," ³ quasi diceret, "quia non cerno quod amo: pro amore eciam in corpore tabesco." Conuersus quippe toto corde ad Christum, primo per ueram penitenciam afficitur, et sic cuncta que ad uanitatem pertinent derelinquens, post gustum suauitatis interne ad canendum in sonoro iubilo diuinitus rapietur. Unde Isaies, *Ego cantabo dilecto meo*,⁴ et in psalmo, *In te cantacio mea*⁵

1. Short texts "mirabilis."

2. (g) "tantum."

3. *Cant.*, 5, 8.

4. *Isai.* 5, 1.

5. *Psalm.* 70, 6.

semper. Qui ergo in diuinitatis amore uixerunt, et interna fragrantia suauiter ardebant, in morte nimirum sine timore, f. 79 immo cum gaudio ab hac luce transeunt; et post mortem celestia regna feliciter ascendunt.

Amoris ergo diuini incendii est mentem quam capit uulnerare: ut dicat, "Uulnerata sum ego caritate," et eciam languidam facere pro amore, (unde dicitur *Amore langueo*,¹) et inebriare: ut sic tendat ad dilectum, quod sui ipsius et omnium rerum obliuiscatur preter Christum. Idcirco ait: *Pone me ut signaculum super cor tuum*.² [Quid³ enim est amor nisi transformacio affectus in rem amatam? Uel amor est magnum desiderium pulchri, boni et amabilis, cum continuacione cogitationum tendencium in id quod amat: quod cum habuerit tunc gaudet, quia gaudium non causatur nisi ex amore. Assimilatur autem omnis amans suo amato, et similem facit amor illum qui amat ei quod amatur. Amari autem nec Deus nec aliqua creatura dedignatur uel respuit: immo letanter se diligere omnes fatentur, et amore iocundari. Non autem tristantur in amando nisi ingratum dilexerint, uel si hoc quod diligendo quesierant se adipisci posse desperant. Ista in amore Dei nunquam sunt, sed in amore sepe contingunt mundi et mulierum.

Non audeo dicere omnem amorem bonum esse: quia ille amor qui magis delectatur in creatura quam in Creatore, et proponit delectabilitatem uisibilis speciei intellectuali claritati, malus est et odibilis, quia auertit ab eterno amore et conuertit ad temporalem, qui durare non potest. Forte tamen minus punietur, quia magis intendit et gaudet amare et amari, quam fedare et fedari. Quanto creatura est pulchrior tanto in oculis omnium est amabilior. Ideo

1. *Cant.*, 2, 5.

2. *Cant.*, 8, 6.

3. (*j*), f. 79, like the other short texts, has: "Quid enim amatam. Amor enim dulcis et deuotus cor in diuina dulcedine resoluit," p. 196, thus slightly altering the text to cover the omission. Later, when the compiler of the short text grew careless he (or she) simply copied the first words of the sentence, added "etc.," and went on to the next paragraph chosen for copying. Cf. pp. 221, 2, 3, notes.

Newton has here copied the omitted passage on a small inserted folio, evidently because he found it too long to write in the margin.

quidam solebant diligentius procurare salutem pulcherrime forme quam despecte, eo quod plures occasiones habet ad induccionem in malum. Et natura docet magis pulchrum suauius amari: tamen ordinata caritas dicit maius bonum magis amari. Quia omnis pulchritudo carnalis fenum est, leuiter euanescens; bonitas uero permanet, et sepe Deus infima et despecta mundi eligit, et forcia et pulchra dereliquit. Unde in psalmo dictum est, *Tradidit in captiuitatem uirtutem eorum et pulchritudinem eorum in manus inimici.*¹ et alibi *habens fiduciam in pulchritudine tua, fornicata es.*² Amoris est eciam mentem liquefacere, sicut scriptum est. *Anima mea liquefacta est, ut dilectus locutus est.*³ Amor enim dulcis et deuotus] cor in diuina dulcedine sic resoluit, quod uoluntas hominis cum uoluntate Dei mirabili amicicia unitur, in qua unione tanta suauitas feruoris dulcoris et canoris amanti animo infunditur quantum senciens non potest explanare.

Habet nempe amor uim diffusiuam, unitiuam et transformatiuam. Diffusiuam autem quia radios sue bonitatis non solum amicis et propinquis, sed eciam inimicis et extraneis diffundit. Unitatiuam uero quia amantes unum efficit in affectu et uoluntate, et Christum et omnem sanctam animam unit. Qui enim adheret Deo, unus spiritus est, non natura sed gracia et idemptitate uoluntatis. Transformatiuam eciam uim habet amor, quia amantem transformat in amatum et transfert in ipsum. Unde ignis Spiritus Sancti cor quod ueraciter capit totum incendit, et quasi in ignem conuertit, atque in illam formam redigit que Deo simillima est. Alioquin non diceretur. Ego dixi dii estis et filii excelsi omnes.⁴ [*Ego dixi dii estis et filii excelsi omnes.*⁵

Nam quidam homines sic se inuicem amauerunt, quod pene crederent non nisi unam animam esse in utroque. Pauper autem rebus seculi, quamuis fuerit mente diues, longe

1. *Psalm.* 77, 61. 2. *Ezeck.*, 16, 15. 3. *Cant.*, 5, 6.

4. Newton has written here "Capitulum octo decimum require alibi ¶." The remainder of the chapter, marked with the sign ¶ is on a small inserted folio, 78b.

5. *Psalm.* 81, 6.

distat a tali amore. Qui enim semper oportet accipere et raro uel nunquam potest dare, mirum esset si amicum haberet in quo in omnibus confidere posset. Ab aliis ergo amore fideli indignus estimatus, Christum fidum habet amicum : ab ipso fiducialiter petat quicquid uelit. Ubi enim humana desunt auxilia, sine dubio assunt diuina. Utilius tamen foret diuiti si sanctum pauperem eligeret sibi amicum et specialem, cui communicare uellet omnia que haberet et libenter tribueret, eciam plusquam pauper ille uellet, et diligeret ipsum affectualiter tanquam optimum et gratissimum amicum. Ideo Christus dixit, *Facite uobis amicos*,¹ utique sanctos pauperos, intelligens, qui sunt amici Dei; et libenter dat Deus ueris dilectoribus talium pauperum pro amore illorum paradisi gaudium. Estimo enim quod tales diuites bene placerentur de amicicia sua, sed nunc uerum est illud metricum "Pontus erit siccus cum pauper habebit amicum." Inueni enim quosdam diuites qui sanctis pauperibus, ut ipsi putabant, dantes uictum, noluerunt dare uestitum uel alia necessaria, estimantes satis esse si uel cibum dederint, et sic faciunt sibi amicos semiplenos, uel pro parte aliqua non plus curantes de amicicia pauperum bonorum, quam malorum. Et cuncta que danda essent alicuius precii sibi est filiis suis reseruant, et sic pauperes sancti illis amplius non tenentur, nisi sicut aliis benefactoribus suis qui uestimentum uel aliquid tale dederint; et, quod peius est, plerumque onerosi uidentur pauperes diuitibus.】

CAP. 18.

(De laude et efficacia caritatis, et de renunciando seculo et uie penitencie arripienda.)

Caritas regina uirtutum, stella pulcherrima, decor est f. 32b anime que hec omnia facit in anima; scilicet, uulnerat eam, languidam facit, inebriat et liquefacit ac decorat, letificat et inflamat, cuius actus ordinatus et habitus uenustus est.

1. *Luc.* 16, 9.

[Omnis uirtus, si ueraciter uirtus dicitur,¹ oportet sine dubio quod in caritate radicitur. Non enim aliquam uirtutem tenere potuit qui ipsam in amore Dei non plantauit. Qui uero sine amore Dei uirtutes aut bona opera multiplicat: quasi in latrinam sine fundo lapides preciosos iactat. Manifestum est enim quia omnia quecunque homines faciant, in fine ad percipiendam salutem non adiuuant,² si in caritate Dei et proximi facta non consistant.³ Cum ergo caritas sola sit que nos beatos facit, cicius deberemus uitam f. 33 nostram uelle amitteret, quam uel mente uel ore uel opere caritatem uiolare. In hac gaudent certantes, in has coronantur triumphantes.] Imperfectus est autem omnis christianus qui terrenis diuiciis dileccione adheret, uel alicui mundiali solacio conglutinatur: quia non renunciat omnibus que possidet, sine quo ad perfeccionem⁴ nemo pertingit.⁵

Cum uero quis Deum perfecte intendit diligere, omnia tam interius quam exterius que amoris diuini sunt contraria, et ab amore eius impediunt, studet amouere, [et ut hoc quis uere faciat, magnam diligenciam habeat, quia in agendo graues conflictus sustinebit. Postea uero suauissimam requiem inueniet in hoc quod quesiiuit. Audiuius uero quod ardua est uia que ducit ad uitam. Hec est uia penitencie quam pauci inuenerunt, que ideo dicitur, quia per illam si recta sit, caro ab illecebris et solacio mundi exuitur, et anima a praua delectacione ac immunda cogitacione restringitur, et solummodo diuine dileccioni mancipatur. Sed hoc raro inuenitur in hominibus, quia nullus pene sapit ea que Dei sunt sed terrenum gaudium querunt, et in eo delectantur. Unde appetituum⁶ sensitium frequentes, et intellectuum neglegentes, omnem uiam anime sue salutiferam detestantur et abhorrent, tanquam artam et asperam et intollerabilem sue uoluptati.

1. (a) "Omnis uirtus sine ea ueraciter non dicitur uirtus. Oportet igitur sine dubio."—Other MSS. vary in order of words.

2. (j) uncorrected, "ordinant." 3. (f) omits this sentence.

4. This word perhaps explains why the author of the short text chose to copy this sentence.

5. (f) "contingit."

6. (a) "appetitum." (k) "appetitum sensiuum."

Uerumtamen perpendere deberet homo mortalis, quod per uiam diuiciarum et deliciarum carnaliumque uoluptatum nunquam perueniet ad celeste regnum, quandoquidem de Christo scriptum sit, *Quod oportuit Christum pati et ita intrare in gloriam suam.*¹ Si membra sumus capitis nostri Ihesu Christi, utique sequemur ipsum; et si Christum diligimus, sicut ipse ambulauit et nos ambulare debemus. Alioquin iam non sumus ipsius membra, quia ab ipso capite diuidimur. Si autem ab eo separamur, ualde timendum est quia tunc diabolo coniungimur, et facta discussione generali, dicturus est Christus *Non noui uos.*²

Ipse uero per angustam portam et artam uiam intrauit in celum: quomodo uolumus nos, qui miseri et peccatores sumus, de pauperibus diuites fieri, illecebrisque ac blandimentis huius mundi pro libito uesci, omnemque uanitatem ac molliciem carnis et delectacionem appetere, et tamen in futura uita cum Christo regnare? Christus cum diues esset pro nobis factus est pauper:³ et nos, cum sumus pauperes, nihil est quod tantum cupimus sicut esse uel apparere locupletes. Christus cum esset omnium Deus, factus est omnium seruus: et nos cum simus indigni et inutiles serui, uellemus tamen omnibus dominari? Ipse cum esset magnus Deus, factus est humilis homo: et nos, cum simus infimi et exiles homines, in tantum pro superbia nos extolimus, quasi Dii essemus. Ipse cum hominibus conuersatus est, ut nos erigeret ad celestia: et nos per totam uitam nostram desideramus terrena. Proinde patet quod ipsum non diligimus, quia ipsius uoluntati uoluntatem nostram non conformamus, neque implere satagimus quod cotidie postulamus, dicentes *Fiat uoluntas tua sicut in celo et in terra.* Frustra siquidem huiusmodi homines autumant se percepturos hereditatem cum electis, quia redempcionis Christi non sunt participes, qui sanguinem per quem redempti sumus, per suas iniquas et immundas operationes despiciunt, et diabolice seruituti sponte se subdunt.】

1. *Luc.* 24, 26.2. *Matt.* 7, 23.3. cf. 2 *Cor.* 8, 9.

CAP. 19.

(De pulchritudine mentis, uanitate mundi, et dilectione Dei et proximi connexis; et an perfectus amor posset amitti et preparari in uia.)

Si dilecteris in pulchritudine, scito quia species mentis tue faciet adamari a summo pulchro, si eam ipsius soli
f. 34 dilectioni conserues intactam. [Corruptibilis quidem carnis omnis decor debilis est et despectiuus, quia cito transiens decipit omnes dilectores suos. Uite igitur nostre uirtuositas in hoc existit: ut contempta et conculcata uanitate, ueritati inseparabiliter adhereamus. Uana sunt omnia ista uisibilia que in terra concupiscuntur. Uera quippe sunt que uideri non possunt, celestia et eterna. Omnis uero christianus in eo se electum a Deo ostendit, quo hec terrena pro nihilo reputans, totus in diuinis desideriis dilatatur, et inde accipit almiphonum amoris archanum, quod nemo unquam nouit mundanorum, quia]¹ dum terrenis concupiscenciis quis inuoluitur, a sapore celestis gaudii miserabiliter elongatur. [Ac nimirum innitentis² anime atque prorsus intente amoris eternitatis, Christumque infatigabiliter adoptantis cordis capacitas, abundancia suauitatis solet repleri, ut eciam in hac carne letabunda quasi angelorum uite fungatur amenitate canora.

Igitur si purus et perfectus amor noster sit, quicquid cor nostrum diligit, Deus existat. Si uero nosmetipsos et omnes alias creaturas que diligende sunt non nisi in Deo et propter Deum diligimus, quid aliud in nobis et in ipsis quam ipsum amamus? Cum namque Deus a nobis toto corde tota mente diligitur, tunc sine dubio et proximus noster et omne diligendum rectissime amatur. Si ergo totum cor nostrum coram Deo et in amore Dei effundimus, ipso ligato et apud Deum detento, quid remanet ultra quo aliquod aliud amemus? In dilectione uero Dei est dilectio proximi. Sicut ergo qui Deum diligit hominem non diligere nescit, ita qui Christum uere nouit diligere, nihil in eo

1. Short texts "Item dum." 2. (k) "nitentis."

nisi Deum probatur amare. Itaque omne quod diligimur uel diligimus, totum ad Deum, fontem amoris, referamus. Quia qui totum cor humanum sibi iubet tribui; eciam omnes affectus omnesque motus mentis in ipso cupit infigi. Porro qui uere Deum diligit, nihil in corde suo preter Deum f. 34b sentit, et si nihil aliud sentit, nihil aliud habet; sed quicquid habet pro Deo amat, et non amat nisi quod Deus uult ipsum amare. Ergo non amat nisi Deum, et sic tota eius dileccio Deus est.

Isclus profecto amor uerus est, quia conformat se Creatori suo, qui omnia propter semetipsum operatus est, ita et ipse omnia propter Deum diligit.】 Quippe¹ quando amor eternitatis in animabus nostris ueraciter accenditur, omnis sine dubio mundi uanitas, omnisque carnalis dileccio non nisi stercus uilissimum reputatur. Atque dum mens, iugi deuocioni dedita, nihil nisi Conditoris sui bene placenciam appetit, mirabiliter in se ardore amoris ignescit, quatinus paulatim in spiritualibus bonis proficiens et succensens, modo in lubricam et latam uiam que ad mortem ducit non decidat, sed potius igne superno erecta usque in contemplatiuam uitam exeat et ascendat.

Non enim contemplatiua uita ab aliquo in hac lacrimarum ualle uel ad modicum perfecte acquiritur, nisi prius cor eius eterni amoris facibus funditus inflammetur, ut uidelicet cor suum igne amoris ardere senciat, et conscienciam suam mellita suauitate liqueferi cognoscat. Sic nimirum uix uere contemplatiuus efficitur, dum et gustando dulcedinem et senciendo ardorem, pro amoris magnitudine multociens pene moriatur. Unde et in corporeis amplexibus eterni amoris quasi iugiter figitur, quia, incessanter contemplando, ad illud lumen incircumscriptum uidendum toto desiderio ascendere conatur. Denique, talis uir nullam nisi diuinam consolacionem in anima sua nouit admittere, in cuius amore iam languens, ad finem uite presentis cogitur anhelare, clamans anxie cum psalmista, *Quando ueniam et apparebo*

1. Short texts "Item quando amor."

*ante faciem Dei.*¹ Hic est amori perfectus, [sed utrum iste status in amore semel habitus aliquando posset amitti, non incongrue queri potest. Dum autem homo potest peccare, potest et caritatem amittere. Sed non posse
f. 35 peccare, non est in statu uie sed patrie; ergo omnis homo quantumcumque perfectus est in hac uita, adhuc peccare potest etiam mortaliter. Quia fomes peccati nullo uiatore plene extinctus est, secundum legem communem. Si autem aliquis talis esset qui nec concupiscere nec temptari posset, secundum hoc magis pertineret at statum patrie quam uie, nec esset ei multum non delinquere cum non posset peccare. Ego penitus ignoro si talis sit, uiuens usquam² in carne; quia, (pro me loquar,) *caro concupiscit aduersus spiritum et spiritus aduersus carnem*;³ et condelector legi Dei secundum interiorem hominem, sed nescio adhuc tam amare quod possum concupiscenciam penitus extinguere.

Estimo tamen quod unus est gradus perfecti amoris, quem quicumque attigerit, illum deinceps numquam perdit. Aliud est enim posse perdere, aliud semper tenere quod non uult amittere etiam si possit. Abstinent uero se perfecti quantum in se est ab omni re qua eorum perfeccio uel posset destrui uel etiam impediri. Cum libertate arbitrii diuina gracia sunt repleti, qua assidue excitantur ad bonum amandum, loquendum, et agendum: et a malo cordis, oris, et operis retrahuntur. Cum ergo homo ad Christum perfecte conuersus, cuncta transitoria despexerit, et se in solo Conditoris desiderio immobiliter, ut mortalibus pro corruptione carnis permittitur, fixerit: tunc nimirum uires uiriliter exercens, primo quasi aperto⁴ celo supernos ciues oculo intellectuali conspicit, et postea calorem suauissimum, quasi ignem ardentem sentit. Deinde mira suauitate imbuitur, et deinceps in canore iubilo gloriatur. Hec est ergo perfecta caritas, quam nemo nouit nisi qui accipit, et qui accipit nunquam amittit, dulciter uiuit, secure morietur.

1. *Psalm.* 41, 3. 2. (*j*) uncorrected, "quisquam." (*k*) "unquam."

3. *Gal.* 5, 17. 4. Cf. cap. 15, p. 189.

CAP. 20.

(De utilitate et dignitate oracionis et meditacionis.)

Ad hanc mentis stabilitatem acquirendam et retinendam, iugis oracio multum adiuuat. Quia si intencione fundatur, uirtutem demonum eneruat. Quamuis enim Deus omnia sciat, eciam antequam quicquam petamus, cognoscat per f. 35b
fecte quid uolumus petere, tamen multipli de causa debemus orare; quia Christus ad orandum exemplum prebuit, quando in oracione solus in monte pernoctauit; et quia preceptum est apostoli, *Sine intermissione orate; oportet enim orare et non deficere.*¹

Item ut mereamur gratiam in presenti et gloriam in futura, unde *petite et accipietis. Qui petit accipit, et pulsanti aperietur.*²]

Item quia angeli offerunt oraciones nostras Deo, ut iuuent ad implecionem earum. Cogitaciones uero et desideria soli Deo nuda sunt et aperta. Sciunt tamen angeli quando sancti digna et sancta cogitant, et cum amore eterne uite uehementer inflammantur, per reuelacionem Dei et experienciam exteriorum accionum, quia uident eos soli Deo deseruire.³ [Unde ad Danielelem dixit angelus: *Uir desideriorum es.*⁴ Item quia per continuam oracionem incenditur animus igne diuini amoris. Ait enim Deus per prophetam *Nonne verba mea quasi ignis ardens et quasi malleus conterens petras?*⁵ Psalmista eciam dicit: *Ignitum eloquium tuum uehementer.*⁶ Sed nunc multi sunt qui cito reiciunt uerbum Dei ab ore suo et a corde, non sinentes illud ibi quiescere in se, et ideo non succenduntur calore consolacionis, sed frigidi remanent in torpore et negligencia eciam post innumeras oraciones, et scriptuarum meditaciones, quia perfecto mente nec orant nec meditantur. Cum alii qui omnem accidiam excuciant, infra breue tempus ualde sunt igniti et Christi amore ardentes. Unde recte subdit, et seruus tuus dilexit illud. Ideo enim accensus est,

1. *I Thess.*, 5, 17. 2. *Luc.* 11, 10. 3. (g) "seruire." 4. *Dan.*, 9, 23.
5. *Ier.* 23, 29. 6. *Psalm.* 118, 140.

quia dilexit uerbum tuum Domine: scilicet, meditari, et secundum illud operari. Quesiuit te potius quam tua et accepit a te et te et tua. Alii famulantur tibi ut habeant tua f. 36 et parum curant de te; fingunt uero se uelle subire serui-cium tuum ut adquirant mundi honorem, et appareant inter homines gloriosi: sed dum gaudent inuenisse pauca, multa perdunt: quia te et tua, et se et sua.

Item orare debemus ut salui simus. Hinc Iacobus hortatur dicens: *Orate pro inuicem ut saluemini.*¹

Item ne pigritemur, et ut in bono continue occupemur. Unde dicitur *uigilate et orate ne intretis in temptationem.*² Semper enim debemus aut orare aut legere aut meditari cum aliis utilibus actibus, ut inimicus noster nunquam nos inueniat accidiosos. Sed attendendum est cum omni diligencia ut uigilemus in oracionibus, scilicet manibus, cogitationibus, non sopiamur: que distrahunt mentem et faciunt obliuisci quo tendebat, et omnino impediunt, si presunt effectum superare deuotionis, quam mens orantis perciperet, si cum uigilancia et sollicitudine atque affectu oraret.】

CAP. 21.

(Quod uita contemplatiua dignior et magis meritoria est quam actiua, et de utrisque, et de predicatione et prelaciis.)

f. 80 Dubitatur autem a quibusdam que uita sit magis meritoria et nobilior, scilicet, contemplatiua uita an actiua. Nonnullis uidetur quod actiua sit magis meritoria propter plura opera et predicationem que exercet. Sed hii errant nescientes, quia uirtutem contemplatiue uite ignorant. Sunt tamen multi actiui meliores aliquibus contemplatiuis. Sed optimi contemplatiui superiores sunt optimis actiuis. Dicimus ergo quod uita contemplatiua simpliciter suauior est, nobilior et dignior, et magis meritoria quantum ad premium essenciale, quod est gaudium de bono increato. Quia ardentius diligit Deum, et maior gracia requiritur, si

1. *Iac.* 5, 16. 2. *Matt.* 26, 41.

contemplatiua uita recte ducatur, quam actiua.¹ Racio feruencioris amoris in contemplatiua uita quam in actiua est, quia contemplatiui in quiete sunt mentis et corporis, et ideo pre cunctis mortalibus suauitatem gustant eterni amoris. Actiui uero in labore et discursu exteriori seruiunt Deo, et in interna quiete modicum immorantur. Unde delectari non possunt nisi raro et breuiter. Contemplatiui quippe quasi iugiter fruuntur amplexibus amati sui.

Opponunt autem quidam dicentes: "Actiua uita fructuosior est," quia facit opera misericordie, et predicat et f. 80b huiusmodi alia agit: ergo magis meritoria est. Dico quod non, quia talia opera pertinent ad premium accidentale quod est gaudium de bono creato. Unde sic potest unus, qui assumetur in ordinem,² angelorum, habere aliquid quod ipse non habebit qui erit in ordine cherubyn uel seraphyn; scilicet, gaudium de aliquo bono creato quod fecit in uita sua; quod alius qui excellit in amore Dei quasi incomparabiliter non fecit. Sicut sepe contingit quod aliquis minoris meriti bonus est et predicat; alius non predicat, qui multum magis amat. Numquid iste que predicat ideo melior? Non. Sed iste qui plus amat superior et melior est, quamuis ille minor pro predicacione meritum habebit: quod iste maior non meruit, quia non predicauit. Patet ergo quod hoc non est sancior uel excellencior propter exteriora opera que agit. Deus enim qui est inspector cordis magis remunerat uoluntatem quam opus. Dependent enim opera ex uoluntate,³ non uoluntas ex opere; quia quanto quis ardencius amauerit, tanto ad alcus premium ascendit. Est autem in ueris contemplatiuis uiris quidam feruor mellifluus, et affluencia diuine dileccionis, ex quibus permanentibus immittitur in eos canora iubilacio, cum inestimabili amenitate. Et hec in actiuis in hac uita nunquam inueniun-

1. (g)—"actiua ratione feruencioris amorisque in contemplatiua est."

2. (g) (k) "ordine."

3. Cf. p. 57, the passage from S. Anselm's letter to the recluses, which nearly all the short texts incorporate in the *Incendium*. "Omnis accio laudabilis siue reprehensibilis ex uoluntate habet laudem uel reprehensionem, . . . indicatur tamen a Deo unusquisque de propria uoluntate." *Patrol. Lat.* clix, 167.

tur, quia tantum celestibus non intendunt ut sic in Ihesu iubilare mereantur, et ideo merito actiua uita postponitur, et contemplatiua in presenti et in futuro digne prefertur.

Unde in ferculo¹ ueri Salomonis columpne sunt argenteae, et reclinatorium aureum. Columpne cathedre sunt fortes sustentatores et boni rectores ecclesie. Hec sunt argenteae, quia in conuersatione sunt clari, in predicatione sonori. Reclinatorium aureum sunt uiri contemplatiui in quibus, in summa quiete existentibus, specialiter reclinat caput suum Christus. Nam et ipsi in ipso² singulariter requiescunt.

- f. 81 Hii sunt aurei, quia puriores et cariores sunt in honestate uiuendi, et rubicundiores in feruore amandi ac contemplandi. Porro Deus predestinat electos suos ad diuersa ministeria perimplenda. Non enim singulis datum est ut omnia officia exequerentur: sed singuli habent quod suis statibus magis congruit. Unde apostolus ait: *Unicuique nostrum data est gracia secundum mensuram donacionis Christi.*³ Alii enim elemosinas ex iuste adquisitis faciunt. Alii usque ad mortem ueritatem defendunt. Alii uerbum Dei clare et fortiter predicant, et aliis predicandum in scripturis suis manifestant. Alii pro Deo magnam penitentiam et miseriam in hac uita tolerant. Alii per donum contemplacionis soli Deo uacant, et ad amandum Christum se prorsus mancipant. Sed sine dubio inter omnes status qui sunt in ecclesia precipuo gaudent munere qui, contemplatores effecti in diuino amore, iam meruerunt canendo iubilare.

Si quis autem utramque uitam possit acquirere, scilicet, contemplatiuam et actiuam, et ipsas retinere et implere, magnus esset ille, ut uidelicet corporale impleat ministerium et nihilominus in se sonorum celicum senciatur, et in gaudium eterni amoris canens liquefiat. Nescio si unquam aliquis mortalis hoc habuit: mihi impossibile uidetur quod utrumque simul fiat. Christus uero inter homines non est numerandus in hac parte, neque beata Mater eius inter mulieres. Christus enim non habuit uolubiles cogitationes

1. Cf. *Cant.* 3, 9. R.V. "palanquin." 2. (g) "Christo." 3, *Ephes.* 4, 7.

neque contemplabatur communi modo quo sancti in hac uita contemplantur. Non enim indignit laborare quemadmodum nos indigemus, quia a principio conceptionis sue uidebat Deum. Per magna nimirum spiritualium operum uenit in nos canorus iubilus, et sonum suscepimus suauissimum e celis, ac deinceps in quiete persistere appetimus, ut iugi suauitate gaudeamus. Qui ergo actiuam uitam nobiliter administrat, ad contemplatiuam uitam ascendere conetur. Qui uero dono superne contemplacionis f. 81b predicto modo sublimatur, ad actiuam non descendat, nisi forte compellatur regimen accipere christianorum: quod tamen raro uel numquam estimo contigisse. Alii autem contemplatiui bene possunt ad hoc eligi, quia minus feruore amoris sunt imbuti. Minores namque sancti ad officium prelacionis quandoque sunt magis apti quam maiores, quia circa exteriora congruencius se habebunt qui in interioribus desideriis perfeccius quiescere non potuerunt.

CAP. 22.

(Quod incendium amoris uicia et peccata purgat, et de signis uere amicitie.)

Incendium amoris in animam ueraciter assumptum cuncta uicia expurgat, diminutum et superfluum euacuat, et omnem uirtutum decorem plantat. Cum mortali peccato numquam stat, etsi cum ueniali. Sed tamen tam ardens potest esse motus et affectus amoris in Deum, quod etiam omnia uenialia consumit, etiam sine actuali cogitatione illorum uenialium, quia dum uerus amator in Deum uehementi ac feruenti desiderio fertur, omnia displicent ei, que a Dei uisione retardant. Dum enim in canoro iubilo letatur, cor eius exprimere non ualet quod celicus degustat, unde et amore¹ languet.

Perfecti namque uiri numquam portant secum ad futuram uitam cremabilia, quia omnia peccata sua in ardore amoris Christi consumuntur. Sed ne quis frustra estimet se per-

1. (g) "auide."

fectum esse cum non sit, audiat quando quis habet in se perfeccionem. Hec enim est uita perfectorum: omnem curam secularium negotiorum abicere, parentes et propria propter Christum relinquere, omnia transitoria bona propter eternam uitam contempnere, carnalia longo labore destruere, petulantiam et omnes motus illicitos, quantum possibile est, refrenare, in solo Conditoris amore inardescere, post amaros gemitus et immensa spiritualium operum exercicia¹ superne contemplacionis dulcedinem sentire: et sic, ut de priuilegiatis loquar: pro gaudio diuine dileccionis in cantum spiritualem uel in celicum sonum contemplanando suscipi, et
 f. 82 in interna quiete, semotis perturbacionibus, suauiter immorari: quatinus dum uiro Dei exterius nil libet agere: eterni amoris delicias in carmine canoro et ineffabili iubilo interius rapitur personare. Sic nimirum talem suauitatem habebit in mente qualem habent angeli in celo, licet non tantam. Hoc quippe modo efficiatur² quis perfectus et non indigebit igne purgari post hanc uitam, quam ardentem in carne existentem ignis exurit Spiritus Sancti.

Et tamen iste perfectus amor non facit ut homo omnino non peccet, sed ne aliquod peccatum in ipso duret quod non statim igne amoris adnihiletur. Talis quidem amator Ihesu Christi non dicit oraciones suas more aliorum hominum, eciam iustorum, quia in sublimitate mentis positus atque amore Christi raptus supra se suscipitur in mirabilem iocunditatem, et infuso in se sono diuinitus, quasi cum quadam pneuma³ canens, preces modulatur, eciam ab ore offerens in melodia ab humanis sensibus secreta sibi et Deo perspicua. Uigor enim uel uirtus spiritualis in ipso iam in tantum carnis grauedinem superauit, ut possit in Christo assidue delectari, cuius cor, in igne amoris conuersum, supernum sensibiliter sentit calorem, ut magnitudinem tam ardentis amoris uix sufficiat sustinere, ne dissoluatur: sed conseruat bonitas Dei usque ad tempus statutum, qui dedit illi ut tantum amaret, et ueraciter dicat *Amore lingueo*.

1. (g) "exercia." 2. Short texts "efficitur." 3. (g) "pneumate."

Uelut seraphym succensus ardet, et amat, canit et iubilat, laudat et estuat. Et tanto fit acceptabilior quanto in amore est feruencior. Non solum mortem non timet sed et mori letatur, cum apostolo dicente: *mihi, inquit, Christus uiuere uita est, et mori gaudium.*¹

CAP 23.

(Quod amor perfectus nihil cum Deo permiscet, et quare, et quod amare necesse est, et de excecacione carnalis amoris.)

[Si sordes scelerum et uicia seculi perfecte relinguimus, f. 36 nihil est quod preter Deum amamus. Nam quid aliud in proximo quam Deum uidemur diligere, dum non nisi propter Deum et in Deo ipsum uolumus amare. Quomodo uero esset Deus omnia in omnibus si in homine aliquid remaneret alieni amoris? Non autem habet quis gaudium, nisi de bono amato. Quanto ergo quis Deum amplius dilexit: tanto nimirum in ipso uberius gaudebit, quia quo aliquem rem instancius ac feruencius desideramus: eo ipsa adquisita, intensius gaudemus. Gaudium uero ideo quis habet, quia Deum habet, et Deus est illud gaudium quod profecto nemo illorum habet qui aliquid querunt preter Deum. Si uero propter meipsum quicquam desidero et Deum meum illius desiderii finem non pono, manifestum f. 36b est quod mei ipsius factus sum proditor, et culpe latentis apertus ostensor. Deus uero eo modo uult diligi, ut nemo secum in amore debeat misceri. Quia si cor tuum diuidis et cum illo aliud amare non pertimescis, sine dubio scias amorem tuum a Deo deserere, qui partem amoris non dignatur contemplari. Aut uero totum aut nihil accipit quia totum redemit. Dampnata siquidem fuerunt corpus et anima tua in peccato Ade patris tui. Descendit ergo Deus in uterum Uirginis et factus homo precium dedit tue liberationis, ut non solum animam tuam a potestate demonum eriperet: sed etiam ut corpus cum anima in fine seculi beatificaret.

1. (f) (h) (k) (l) (m) (n) (o) (g) (w) give the quotation (*Phil.*, 1, 21) thus loosely, (a) and (g) correct it to "et mori lucrum."

Habes ergo precepta uite eterne ; si uis ingredi ad regnum perditum, et iterum sanguine Christi recuperatum, te obseruare oportet Christi mandata. Et quemadmodum quidem desideras in plenum et perfectum gaudium post mortem tuam ascendere, ita te oportet reminiscere in hac uita : pleno et perfecto corde Deum amare. Alioquin sicut te cum nunc ad dileccionem Dei non tribuis : ita tunc non plenum gaudium sed eternum tormentum habebis. Quia dum uero Creatori tuo integra dileccione non intendis, creaturam profecto Dei ultra quam honestum est et licitum amare probaris. Non enim potest esse anima rationalis sine amore, quamdiu in uia est. Unde et amor eius est pes eius, quo post hanc peregrinacionem ad Deum uel ad diabolum defertur, ut ei tunc se subiectum uideat, cuius hic uoluntati seruiebat.

f. 37 Amari autem aliquid non potest nisi propter bonum quod est aut existens aut apparens, et quod amato inest, uel certe inesse estimatur. Hinc est quod amantes corporalem speciem uel diuicias temporales quasi per prestigium falluntur. Quia non est in istis uisibilibus, que uel tactu sentiuntur uel oculo uidentur, delectacio que apparet, aut gloria que fingitur, aut fama que captatur.

Nemo ergo est qui dampnabilius animam suam negligit, quam qui in mulierem propter luxuriam oculum suum figit. Dum enim oculi uisus animum incendit, mox de uisa cogitacio intrabit, et in corde concupiscenciam generat, et interiorem naturam deformat. Unde subito, noxii ignis aduscione obuoluitur, et ne districti iudicis sentenciam uideat excecatur. Sic quoque raptus animus ab intuitu celestium amore immundo ac maligno, signa sue dampnationis foris ostendere non desinit, et nisi parturiat immundiciam quam conceperit, de prosperitate penitus diffidit. Porro concepit dolorem in concupiscenciam dolorosam, unde merito pariet iniquitatem, quia tanto cicius in lutulentam delectacionem dilabitur quanto de quam magno anime sue periculo errat, querere non conatur. Auferuntur itaque iudicia Dei a facie eius. Dum enim in carnalibus desideriis

delectari incipit, in quam miserie lacum precipitat non attendit. Iudicium quippe Dei est quod qui sponte, contempto Deo, in mortali peccato deicitur, inuitus post hanc uitam, Deo iudicante, condempnetur. Non enim poterit se in futuro ab inferni morsibus defendere, qui in hoc presenti positus criminalia peccata, (cum potuit), noluit toto posse suo declinare, et declinando ordiri.

CAP. 24.

(De feditate luxurie ac periculo et tactu. Item de malo auaricie, et de inepta leticia.)

Cum quis propter purum amorem Dei et uirtutis et f. 37b castitatis non nubit sed in continencia et omnium uirtutum ornatu uiuere satagit, sibi procul dubio magnum nomen in celestibus adquirit. Quia sicut hic Deum non cessat diligere, ita et ibi ab eius nunquam cessabit laude. Matrimonium autem in se bonum est, sed cum homines pro explenda libidine, sub uinculo matrimoniali se astringunt, bonum profecto in malum uertunt, et unde putant se proficere, inde non cessant deteriores esse. Qui uero ex hac intencione coniugium diligit, quia ex hoc diues fieri confidit, sine dubio lasciuiæ frenum laxare nititur, deliciis ac diuiciis affluens, non modicam medicinam carni lubricæ se inuenisse gloriatur. Porro peruersi uiri sunt qui etiam in proprias uxores propter eorum pulchritudinem immoderate inardescunt, et tanto cicius ipsorum corpus a uiribus frangitur, quanto magis in explendis desideriis carnis relaxatur. Dum uero delectantur, deficiunt; et dum prosperantur, pereunt; et dum quasi per uoluptates concupitas se saciare satagunt, uires etiam mentis et corporis miserabiliter effundunt.

Nihil siquiden periculosius est, nihil turpius, nihil fetidius homini, quam in amore mulieris mentem suam effundere, et in eam quasi in beatam requiem anhelare. Post factum nimirum cito uillescere incipit, quod antea maxima angustia pro summa beatitudine concupiuit.

Cognoscit quidem postea, dum breuem delectacionem et longam anxietatem excogitat, quod in tali amore uecorditer et turpissime deuiabat. Liquet namque quod ligabatur fortiter uili uinculo debilis uanitatis. Sed quia ad Deum se toto corde conuertere noluit: miseriam suam priusquam
 f. 38 illam expertus esset non cognouit. Ideoque in lacum captiuitatis cecidit, quia ad solem glorie non respexit. Si enim eterne uite dulcedinis uel guttam perciperet, nunquam carnalis pulchritudo que est fallax et uana gracia menti sue tam dulcis appareret. Sed heu quia miserabile delectamentum in oculis omnipotentis Dei non attendit, fetidum et odiosum in sua profecto consciencia se nescit deprehendere illusum. Nemo denique potest se illicebris carnis tribuere, et a semitis equitatis non errare. Unde enim ignis terreni amoris mentem hominis inflammare non desinit: in ea nimirum omnem humiditatem diuine gracie consumit, eamque inanem et aridam faciens semper suum calorem facit excrescere, et de igne auaricie eciam ignem luxurie suscitare, ut miro modo insaniens captiua anima, nihil nisi carnalia desideria aut diuicias multiplicare cupiat, in eisque finem suam ponens, iugiter habendum inardescat, unde et dum tormentum non uidet ad quod properat. De uerbis Dei et eius preceptis nihil curat; et quia sola ista exteriora et uisibilia solacia appetit: in interioribus et inuisibilibus excecatus, quasi clausis oculis ad ignem uadit. At uero cum infelix anima a corpore exuta fuerit, sciet cito indubitanter in sua manifestatione quam misera extitit, dum in carne fuit, que se non solum innoxiam sed et felicem putauit.】

In omnibus ergo que agimus semper plus de mundicia mentis quam corporis curemus. Minus enim malum est carnem mulieris nudis manibus tangere, quam mentem mala delectacione inquinare. 【Si uero mulierem tangimus et tamen in corde nihil nisi bonum cogitamus, peccatum
 f. 38b profecto dici non debeat. Licet tamen per hoc aliquid temptacio carnis surgat, quia in malum homo non corrui, dum mens in Deo fixa consistit. Cumque quidem cor

tangentis in diuersa desideria rapitur; uel alias eciam in malam dulcedinem deflectitur, et non cito amore Conditoris uirtutumque constancia refrenatur: scias sine dubio quod homo ille culpam in se immundicie sustinet, etsi longe, non solum a femina, et eciam ab homine distet.

Et quidem si uir fidelis infideli mulieri coniungitur, proximum est ut eius mens ad infidelitatem conuertatur. Mos enim est mulierum ut cum se ultra modum a uiris amari senserunt, per blandicias allicientes corda illorum decipiant, et ad ea que illarum nequissima uoluntas suggerit attrahant, quos per manifestam locucionem, prius attempabant. Salomon namque sapiens erat, et fidelis Deo per aliquod tempus extitit, sed postea propter nimium amorem quo mulieribus adherebat, a fidelitate et preceptis Dei uilissime defecit; tanto dignior grauius percelli, quanto in magna sapientia positus, se a stulta muliere permisit superari.¹ Nemo ergo sibi inaniter blandiatur, nec de se presumens dicat, securus sum: non timeo; non me fallere potest demulcens seculum, cum audit iam de sensatissimo uiro, insensatissimum effectum.

Spiritualis quippe fornicacio eciam auaricia est, eo quod cupidus propter amorem nummorum sinum suum expandit ad prostibulum demonum. Cum uero ante nimiam dilectionem pecunie Deum uerum sponsum dilexit, et ipsum iam propter inordinatam concupiscenciam deserit, atque procatores malos in se assumit: quid aliud nisi fornicacionem et idolatriam facit? Conemur ergo cor nostrum in oculis omnipotentis Dei mundum in quantum possumus ostendere, et omnes uenenosas delectaciones suffocare, etsi quicquam in nobis quandoque propter fragilitatem agitur, in corde tamen coram Deo nihil nisi perfectum et summum uideatur. Quandoque enim quibusdam ex nimia hilaritate uilescimus, quandoque in uerbis et uisu gaudemus, et quamquam ista et hiis similia coram Deo bono animo possunt fieri: coram hominibus tamen non nunquam ad

1. (d), f. 316b is here misbound, and continues, "nisi forte aliqui —," from the last chapter of the *Incendium*, p. 277. The omitted portions are on ff. 329-340b.

excessum non ignoramus interpretari; et ideo modus habendus est, ut caute custodiam nobis non negligamus ponere, ubi timemus quod in aliquo possumus mali speciem inferre.】 Seruis uero Christi Deo adherere bonum est, quia et in ipsius desiderio feruorem ignis Spiritus Sancti percipiunt et delicias amoris eterni cum suauissimo celi sono melliflui canunt. Unde et melliflui facti sunt celi, scilicet sancti, qui tanto ardentius Christum diligunt, quanto pro eis ipsum plura tolerasse cognoscunt. Dum enim mens sanctorum eternitatis amor inseparabiliter immittitur, et dulcedinem celestis uite saltem raptim quamuis cum melodia se gustasse gloriatur.

CAP. 25.

(De amore perfecto et que requiruntur ad consequendum iubilum, et de dileccione et correccione.)

f. 82b Excellencia premii in magnitudine amoris existit, ut nimirum amans ardeat igne inextinguibili, et intra se suauitate celica repleatur. Qui enim amplius amat, superior in regno constituitur. Iste autem amor in corde est, et quo plus Deum suum diligit, eo in ipsum maius gaudium sentit. Errant ergo qui autumant eum tantum amare qui non nisi raro uel breuiter experitur gaudium amoris, quantum ipsum qui tota die quasi in dulcoribus debriatur. Quidam enim cum difficultate amant, quidam cum facilitate: sed amor Dei eo est beacior quo facilior, eo facilior quo feruencior; eo feruencior, quo dulcior; eo dulcior, quo maior. Maior est in quiescentibus quam in laborantibus; ergo qui continue quiescunt et feruenter diligunt: superiores sunt illis qui quandoque quieti dediti sunt, et quandoque ad ministranda exteriora intendunt.

Nihil quidem melius est dileccione mutua, nihil suauius caritate sancta. Amari enim et amare dulce est commercium tocius uite humane: eciam angelice atque diuine delectamentum et beatitudinis precium. Si ergo queris amari, ama: quia amor uicem rependit. De amore bono

nemo unquam perdidit, qui finem amoris non permisit. Nescit profecto letari qui amore non nouit inardescere. Et eo quippe nullus unquam beacior efficitur quam qui extra se a uehementia amoris defertur, et pre diuini amoris magnitudine intra se excipit¹ sonoram suauitatem laudis eterne. Sed non cito cuiquam hoc contingit, nisi cum conuersus ad Deum se mirabiliter exercuerit, omnemque appetitum mundane uanitatis a se eiecerit. Plerumque f. 83 Deus infundit ipsam ineffabilem iubilationem amantibus ipsum. Mens enim ad mundiciam disposita, cogitacionem accipit a Deo eterni amoris: mundata est cogitacio quando in canticum spiritualem consurgit. Cordis enim claritas sonum celicum habere meretur; et ut laus Dei in iubilo persistat, animus igne diuino accenditur atque ineffabili dulcedine iocundatur. Sed quamuis hoc mundum perfecte relinquat, leccioni, oracioni, et meditacioni, uigiliis et ieiuniis iugiter et instanter insistat, mundiciamque mentis ac consciencie consequatur, ita ut more desideret propter gaudium supernorum, *dissoluique* cupiat et *esse cum Christo*: nisi mens eius cum Christo inestimabiliter² adhereat, et langueat cogitacionibus certis et determinatis, et omnino amorosis et sine fine intentis, quas ubicumque fuerit, sederit, uel ierit incessanter meditetur: intra se non querens nisi ut amet Christum: profecto non suscipiet sonum celicum, nec in canoro iubilo Ihesum et eius laudes personabit, uel in mente uel in ore.

[Superbia siquidem confundit plurimos, dum enim se aliquid egisse estimant, quod ceteri non amabant, statim se aliis preferunt et ipsis forte meliores apud se immerito postponunt. Sed sciant quod ille nondum nouit seipsum diligere qui communem naturam in proximo presumit contempnere. Quia et condicioni sue iniuriam facit, qui ius suum in altero non agnoscit. Unde et humane societatis ius uiolat, qui communionem nature in proximo non honorat. In hoc ergo errant homines ab amore Dei, nec ad eius dileccionem sciunt pertingere quia proximum suum,

1. Short texts "exceperit." 2. (g) (h) "ineffabiliter."

ut tenentur non student amare. Aut enim peccantem omnino incorrectum dimittunt, aut si corrigere uel corripere incipiunt, cum tanta asperitate et rigore uerba proferunt, quod sepe corrigendi peiores fiunt. Deberent enim cum mansuetudine loqui, ut per dulcia uerba possint attrahere,] quod immoderata correccio cogit nequius peccare.

CAP. 26.

(De suspiriis, uoto et humilitate perfecti amatoris, et de imparitate amoris mundialis et Dei, et de meditatione.)

f. 83b Uox languentis anime amore eterno ac specie querentis sui Conditoris personat. *Osculetur me*, inquit, *osculo oris sui*,¹ scilicet, delectet me unione Filii sui. Ideo enim amore langueo, quia quem diligo in suo decore cernere tota mente concupisco. Interim autem in labore et certamine peregrinationis mee sui amoris dulcedine me uisitet, et ad ipsum cor meum transferendo affectuum superiorum calore delectet, ac donec dilectum clare uidere potero, eius nomen dulcissimum in mente mea retentum canens cogitabo. Uere nimirum eciam in hoc presenti seculo deliciis fruitur, qui Saluatoris sui desideriiis astare delectatur. Nihil enim iocundius quam Ihesum canere: nihil delectabilius quam ipsum audire. Auditus enim mentem letificat, cantus autem ad ipsum leuat. Dumque illis careo quasi fame siti suspirans egens et desolatus mihi uideor, cum enim dulcissimi mei amplexus et oscula sencio, quasi deliciis inenarrabilibus affluo, quem sola dilectione sue immense bonitatis ueri amatores omnibus anteponunt.

Ueniens ergo in me ueniat, perfectum amorem infundendo, reficiat quoque cor meum perseueranciam dando, accendatque et impinguet omne impedimentum amoris auferendo. Quis ergo dicet illum ad fetentem carnis immundiciam cadere, quem superne speculacionis superna dulcedine Christus dignatur reficere? Propter hoc in sequentibus suauiter canitur: *Letabimur in te memores uberum tuorum super uinum*,² quasi dicatur: "Tibi

1. *Cant.*, 1, 1.2. *Cant.*, 1, 3.

honorem, tibi gloriam querimus, letamur in tuis gaudiis; derelictis deliciis ac diuiciis temporalis uanitatis, que in tantum amatores suos inebriant, quod eciam mala que paciuntur non agnoscant. Et licet faciem tuam nondum uidere possumus, tamen ita ardentem desideramus, quod si in eternum uiueremus, alienum amorem non quereremus. Quia quanto diucius uiuimus, tanto ardencius te cupimus, et maius gaudium in tuo amore sentimus; anxiusque ad te suspiramus, quia iugiter amantibus te nociua transeunt, et prospera ac leta in spiritualibus succedunt. Illa enim anima te, O bone Ihesu, uere diligit, que cicius mortem horribilem incurrere eligeret, quam alicui peccato consentiret, nec uere et perfecte quis Christum diligit, qui aliquid preter ipsum pertimescit. *Cum diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum.*¹ Perfectus enim amor uincit penam. Uincit minas, quia non sentit timorem creature, omnem elacionem expellit, humiliter cuicumque cedit. Unde bene dicitur: *Recti diligunt te.*² Recti sunt humiles, uere diligentes nihil negligentes, qui licet in summa perfectione existant, humillime tamen se gerunt et mente et actu. [Ut quis uerus amator sit, dicat intra se:

“Omnes me excellunt in contemptu mundi et odio peccati, in desiderio celestis regni, in dulcedine et feruore amoris Christi, in caritate proximi. Alii florent uirtutibus, alii fulgent miraculis, alii dono superne contemplacionis sublimantur, alii sancte scripture secreta scrutantur. Cum tantorum dignam uitam considero apud memetipsum quasi in nichilum redactus, inter omnes infimus succumbo.”

Recti ergo sunt qui terrenis fortiter fugiunt incuruari, solis eternis gaudiis inhiantes, ab omni temporalium rerum appetitu deficiunt, et eciam diuinum amorem uehementi desiderio fugiunt. Et merito dicuntur Deum diligere qui recta uia et plana caritate fulgida incedentes, nihil est preter Christum quod sapiunt uel querunt. Quarum contrariis per psalmistam dicitur: *Obscurentur oculi eorum ne uideant et dorsum eorum semper incurua,*³ scilicet, ut

1. *Roman.* 8, 28. 2. *Cant.*, 1, 3. 3. *Psalm.* 68, 24.

terrenis inhereant et eterna transitoriis postponant; et ideo effunditur super eos ira Dei, scilicet iusta uindicta cum magno impetu obuoluentium tormentorum.】

f. 84 Recti namque incessanter ad gaudium uisionis Dei, omni abiecta simulacione, corde, ore, et opere intendunt. Nec ad aliquam uanitatem superflue amandam, ne peregrinando a semistis iusticie perturbentur, se flectunt. Qui ergo placere Christo desiderat, nec pro bono nec pro malo contra Christi uoluntatem quicquid agere presumat. Multum enim est horribile ad ignem Gehenne descendere, sed magis detestabile est uelle in peccato delectari, pro quo poterit Christus sine fine amitti. Anima equidem a terrenorum uiciis separata, et a carnis uenenosa suauitate alienata, celestibus desideriis dedita immo et rapta, mirabili iocunditate perfruens, quia iam quodammodo amoris dilecti leticiam sentit, ut limpidus contempletur et delectabilius efficiatur; eciam in hoc presenti os sponsi suauissimum et osculum eius dulcissimum exposcit, clamans: "Omnia terrena mihi fastidio sunt: amorem dilecti sencio, potum mire consolationis gusto, et assidue ipsam dulcedinem inardesco; et ne a me elongata pre nimia temptatione deficiam. Amor me facit audacem, ipsum quem diligo inuocare, qui me confortando et implendo ¹ osculetur ² osculo oris sui. Quanto enim magis a terrenis cogitacionibus eleuor, tanto amplius concupita dulcedine fruor, et quo plus extinguuntur carnis desideria, ueracius succenduntur eterna. Osculetur me dulcore dileccionis sue reficiendo, osculo oris sui me stricte amplectando, ut non defluam; et gratiam infundendo, ut iugiter in amore crescam." Sicut lacte uberum nutriuntur et sustentantur infantes³: ita electe anime ardentem in amore, supernis deliciis pascuntur, quibus ad uisionem eterne claritatis perducentur.

Dulciores certe sunt delicie amoris Christi omnibus delectacionibus mundi et carnalis saporis; immo, omnis imaginacio carnalium uoluptatum, omnis habundancia terrenarum possessionum, in comparacione minime dulce-

1. (k) "amplectando." 2. Short texts "consoletur." 3. (g) (h) "pueri."

dinis que a Deo in electa anima infunditur miseria est et abhominacio. Quanta enim differencia est inter summam copiam secularium diuiciarum et maximam indigenciam iscius mundi paupertatis: in infinitum maior est inter suauitatem amoris tui, delecte mi, et delectamentum f. 84b mundani gaudii, quod carnales siciunt, mundani ambiunt, et in quo solo gloriantur. Quia nihil amoris tui senciunt in quo tantummodo delectari deberent. Spiritualia enim carismata deuotam animam dirigunt ardentem diligere, dulciter meditari, excellenter contemplari, suauiter orare, digne laudare, solum Ihesum concupiscere, mentem a peccatorum sordibus abluere, carnalia desideria extinguere, terrena cuncta despicere, uulnera et crucem Christi in mente depingere, atque infatigabili desiderio ad uisionem gloriosissime claritatis anhelando suspirare. Talia sunt unguenta optima, quibus optime unguitur ac decoratur anima diuino amore consecrata.

CAP. 27.

(De uera humilitate et aduersitatibus et sanctorum exemplis et modo proficiendi, et meditatione passionis Christi.)

[Humiles¹ ueraciter non aliorum mala sed sua con- f. 39 siderant, non sua bona sed alterius laudant. Reprobi uero econtra faciunt, quia magis aliena peccata quam sua respiciunt, et in comparacione sua uel nulla esse uel parua dicunt. Bona eciam sua, si aliqua esse contigerint, aliis preferunt, quorum saltem bona minuere cupiunt que omnino delere non possunt.

Duas quidem res audire dolui. Una fuit quando me miserum quem solum despexi, cognoscerem laudari. Alia f. 39b erat quando proximum meum quem in Deo et pro Deo dilexi, uiderem exprobrari uel detraccionibus morderi. Uerumtamen tu qui mundum relinquis, et in uia paupertatis Christum sequi conaris, teipsum cognoscere stude, quia si uere concupiscenciis et actibus seculi renuncias, pro Christo

1. Newton has marked the absence of this passage by "Uacat. Quere alibi."

aduersa mundi letanter tolerare, prospero uero fortiter fugere, te religas : quod si hoc ignorans non attendis, ab amore Christi deceptus egrederis. Non ergo mireris si diuersis angusciis fatigeris, et uariis temptacionibus affligaris; quia si constanter resistis, dulcior et carior coram Deo efficeris. Recordare quia *tanquam aurum in fornace probauit illos*.¹ Qui enim amoris Christi dulcedinem interius sentiunt, tribulacionem libenter amplectentes, terrenum solacium exterius omnino non querunt. Tantus enim est dulcor infusus in mente uere Christum amantis, quod si omne mundi gaudium in uno loco fuerit adunatum, magis delectaretur in solitudinem currere quam illud semel oculo respicere. Nec mirum quidem nam tota terrena consolacio sibi uidetur potius desolacio quam recreacio. Non enim potest anima uana gloria depasci que solito more uisitatur gaudio amoris Dei, cuius cor a dilecto suo non recedit, quia cicius mori eligeret quam Redemptorem suum semel offendere uellet.

Ut autem et tu hanc gratiam consequaris, peccatorum penitencium exempla memoriter retine, sanctorum uitam imitari conare, ut qui peccator es, tamen ad seruicium Domini conuersus, per peccatores² ad regnum sublimatos ad spem respices, et per scrutacionem uite iustorum ab omni elacione te restringas. Nam per memoriam rei melioris humiliatur mens uiri sanccioris. Quia cuiuscumque uitam scriptam inueneris uel relatam audieris, semper incomparabiliter illam uitam te digniorem existimabis. Tales enim Christi amatores dicuntur, qui pro eius nomine aduersa
 f. 40 et aspera mundi suscipiunt, prospera et omnia uana gaudia contempnunt, despeccionibus, opprobriis et scandalis saturantur, in suis laudibus torquentur, qui pro Deo solitarie uiuentes, in uia morientes, ad consorcium angelorum assumuntur in patria.

Ego enim in solitudinem fugi quia cum hominibus concordare non potui, me nempe a gaudio sepe impediabant; et quia non feci quemadmodum ipsi fecerunt, et errorem et

1. *Sap.* 3, 6. 2. (k) "penitenciam."

indignacionem mihi imposuerunt: quamobrem *tribulationem et dolorem inueni, sed nomen Domini inuocaui*.¹

Ne ergo in temptationibus deficiamus, ab omni terrena cupidine studeamus lacescere,² et eterne glorie coronam iugiter in memoria retinere, ut uigilantes inuenti promissam beatitudinem recipiamus. Interim autem tali mensura utamur ut carnis concupiscencia funditus restringi ualeat, corporalemque auiditatem discrete cor deserat, cum corpus in seruicio Dei stabilis et fortis semper persistat. Qui enim pro amore Ihesu omnia relinquit scilicet, uoluntatem habendi deserit, et perseuerans ac proficiens cum gaudio dicet *Inueni quem diligit anima mea*:³ Inuenitur enim Christus in corde quando in hoc sentitur calor dilectionis eterne, que cupit queri sine ficcione. Descendit enim Christus in animam in ardore mellifluo et canoro iubilo, ut qui hoc habet gaudium audaciter dicat; "Inueni dilectum." Qui uero dum orat mentem uidet supra tectum, immo supra corporeum celum subleuari, si non deficiat, sed semper plus et plus eterna sapere inardescat letabunde Christi clementiam expectet, quia infra paucos annos ad gloriosa contemplanda se raptum senciet. Unde humili corde proficiscens in profectum, donec ad eterne quietis consortium peruenerit, non torpescat.

Si autem in oracione oculus cordis tui ad celestia contemplanda rapitur, proximum est ut anima tua terrena transcendens in amore Christi proficiatur. Qui quidem f. 40b orando nondum ad superna sustollitur, meditari, orare, uigilare non cesset discrete; donec sublimiora speculetur, ne in terra iacens, angusciis et pressuris conculcetur. *Egredimini, inquit, filie Sion, scilicet, "O uos, anime reate," et uidete regem Salomone in diademate*⁴ [scilicet, intelligite Christum uere pacificum, pro salute nostra passum. Respicite in eum, et uidebitis caput diuinum spinis coronatum, faciem consputam, oculos preclaros pre

1. *Psalm.* 114, 4. 2. (j) uncorrected, "laetfacere." (k) "laccessescere."

3. *Cant.* 3, 4. This passage shows that the long text is continuous, the short an abridgment.

4. (h) (i) (s) (t) (u) (x) "diademate etc. (cf. p. 223n). Qui enim Christum." *Cant.* 3, 2.

inopia languentes, dorsum flagellatum, nudum pectus cruentatum, uenerabiles manus perforatas, latus dulcissimum lancea sauciatum, pedes confossos, per totam teneram carnem infixi uulnera, sicut scriptum est, *et planta pedis usque ad uerticem capitis non est in eo sanitas*.¹ Egredimini ergo ab illicebri et concupiscenciis uestris, et uidete quid pro uobis sustulit Christus, ut penitus eiciantur scelera, et ad incendium amoris erudiantur corda.

CAP. 28.

(Quod uerus amans terrena despicit, et ad superna anhelat, et elacione uitanda et humilitate amplectenda.)

Attende miser homuncio quomodo in delectacione carnalis uoluptatis dormit crudelitas uenture dampnationis. Illis ergo resistere debes, qui ea que Christi sunt cupiunt auferre, scilicet, uirtutes. Priusquam enim cor tuum amore Christi ardere poterit, cuiuscumque transitorie uanitatis appetitu carebit. Quia mens spiritu Christi ardens, solo eternitatis amore pascitur, que etiam in canoro carmine iocundatur. Si enim iam dulcor eterni amoris in anima tua perseuerat, sine dubio omnis carnalis nequicie lasciuiam destruit; et
f. 41 te in Christo delectans nihil preter Christum sentire permittit; quia neque tu ab illo corruis, neque aliud quam ipsum dulce sentis. Perfecti siquidem cum a corporibus exuti fuerint, statim coram Deo presentantur, et in sedibus beate requie collocati, quoniam Christum esse Deum uident, et uacant.】 Qui enim Christum uere incipiunt diligere, postea in magno amoris gaudio ac mellifluis ardoribus amorosa cantica Domino Ihesu non cessabunt personare. Ipsum uero nihil terrenum delectat, qui Christum uere amat, quia pre magnitudine amoris omne transitorium uilescit. Oculo carnis corporalia cernuntur, sed humili corde et mundo celestia iusti contemplantur, qui celestis speculationis flamma sunt accensi² et a pondere preteriti³ peccati se relaxari sentiunt, et a uoluntate iterum peccandi quiescunt,

1. *Isai.* 1, 6.

2. (g) "succensi."

3. (g) omits.

quorum cor in ignem conuersum, nil terrenum amplectitur sed semper superne penetrare conatur. [Porro qui ad sanctitatem¹ ordinantur, in inicio sue conuersionis, timore Dei scelera ac mundi uanitatis relinquunt, deinde stricte penitencie carnem subiciunt, postea quidem amore Christi omnibus proposito, quandam delectacionem celestis suauitatis gustantes, in deuocione mentis uehementer proficiunt. Unde de gradu in gradum ascendentes, spiritualibus uirtutibus florent, sicque gracia Dei decorati, tandem ad perfectionem perueniunt que in corde, locucione, et opere consistit.] Quem uero amor Christi perfecte absorbuerit ad ista exteriora capienda² tanquam mortuum facit; que sursum sunt sapit, que sursum sunt querit, non que super terram. Mens nimirum celestis regni desiderio suspirans, in amore sponsi crescit, et de leticia infusa gaudens, ab appetitu rerum terrenarum se exuit, ac ueri amoris languore³ f. 41b repleta, ad uidendum Deum in decore suo tota mente intendit; unde flamma amoris illius accensa, solo eius desiderio anhelat, et preter eum⁴ nihil est quod querit. Dum enim fidelis anima solam sponsi presenciam ardentem concupiscit, ab omni lasciuiam inanem glorie perfecte refrigescit. Unde et amore languet, quia cuncta terrena pro nihilo reputat: cum sic ad eterna gaudia suspirans festinat.

Qui namque in amore Christi se delectat, et eius consolationem indesinenter habere desiderat non solum humanum

1. The short texts = (g) (h) (i) (j) (m) (o) (p) (s) (t) (u) (y). Of these (h) (i) (j) (o) (s) (t) (u) (y) have: "penetrare conatur. Porro qui ad sanctitatem, etc. Quem enim amor Christi"—, showing plainly that the short text is an abridgment. The other short texts omit the "etc.," and (g) and (u) slightly alter the text to cover the break; (g) "—p. conatur. Porro qui amor Christi perfecte absorbuerit,—" (u) "—p. conatur, scilicet, quem amor Christi perfecte absorbuerit."— The scribe of (g) was evidently scholarly (his emendations being frequent, and better than the text), and he similarly altered the other breaks, where nearly all the short texts have "etc." (i.e. p. 221 diademate, etc.; p. 223 sanctitatem, etc.; p. 224 fugit etc.; p. 230 bibit, etc.). These are the only passages where the short texts break off in the middle of the sentence, using "etc.," but there are others where they begin a new paragraph with "Item," where the long text, being continuous, has no such word. (i.e. cap. 19, p. 200 Item dum terrenis; p. 201 Item quando amor; p. 203 Item angeli offerunt; cap. 20, p. 203 Item per continuam; cap. 34, p. 243 Item dulcescis).

2. (g) "cupienda." 3. (f) (k) "langore." 4. (j) uncorrected, "ipsum."

solacium non cupit, sed etiam magno desidero, uelut fumum oculos offendentem fugit.¹ [Quemadmodum quidem aer perfusus radio solis et splendore luminis totus est splendor : ita deuota mens incendio amoris Christi inflammata, et celescium gaudiorum desideriiis repleta, tota amor uidetur, quia tota in aliam similitudinem transformatur, sua tamen manente substantia quamuis ineffabiliter iocundata. Quia cum mens igne Spiritus Sancti succenditur, ab omni ocio et immundicia exuitur et torrente uoluptatis Dei indulcoratur, semper suspiciens, nunquam deficiens, terrenis non respiciens, donec perfecta dilecti uisione glorietur.

Cauere autem oportet omnem superbiam et cordis elacionem, quia hec est que mirabiles uiros in profundam miseriam deiecit. Quid enim est magis detestandum, quid amplius puniendum, (immo magna est indignacio et plane abhominacio,) quod uermis uilissimus, peccator pessimus, omnium hominum infimus, apponit se magnificare super f. 42 terram, pro quo rex altissimus et dominancium Dominus in tantum se dignatus est humiliare? Si uero intime consideres Christi humilitatem, cuiuscumque status fueris, quantumcumque diuiciis uel uirtutibus pollens, non inuenies in te materiam superbie, sed despectum tui ipsius et causam humiliacionis. Qui ergo peccatores despicias, attende temetipsum, quia forte te omnibus deteriorem facis; nam magis displicet² Deo superbus iustus quam humilis peccator. Cum uero in mente tua uera humilitas inseritur: ad laudem Conditoris quicquid boni facis, agitur; ut tuam uirtutem despiciens, eius gloriam queras; ne uanitati deditus, mercede priueris eterna. Cogita ergo Ihesum a cordis desiderio, oracio tua procedat ad ipsum, non pigeat illum indesinenter querere, nihil preter ipsum cures possidere. Felix diues qui talem habet possessionem; ad hoc omnia mundi uana relinque, et ipse tuum uincet inimicum et te ad suum perducet regnum.

Diabolus expugnabitur qui te impugnat, caro subicietur

1. (h) (i) (j) (o) (s) (t) (u) : "fugit etc. Dum enim corpus."

2. Short texts "displicis."

qui te aggrauat, mundus contempnetur qui te decipere temptat, si cor tuum amorem Christi querere non cessat. Inanis uero homo non sedet, qui etsi lingua taceat, mente tamen ad Christum clamat; quia corpus carnali requie nunquam quiescit, dum mens celestia desiderare non tabescit, nec reperitur quis ociosus si eterna cupire non cessat, et cum illis semper fit auidus. Cogitationes quidem amatoris Christi in ascensum sunt ueloces, et in cursu uniformes. Transitoriis se non sinunt inclinari, aut in carnalibus contagiis figi, immo ascendere non desinunt donec ad superna peruenerint.】 Dum enim corpus in seruitio Christi fatigatur, sepe subleuante¹ spiritu mens ad celestem refeccionem, immo et ad diuinam contemplationem, rapitur. Qui autem deuote orat cor non habet uagabundum in terrenis, sed sublatum ad Deum in celestibus. Qui uero quod orat obtinere desiderat diligenter attendat quod orat, quem orat, et ad quem finem orat; et ut amet quem orat, ne reprobis petens premium a uita frustretur. f. 42b
 【Sancti siquidem tam profundam humilitatem habent, ut se nihil scire et quasi nihil facere reputant, se omnibus indigniores et miseriores clamant, etiam hiis quos reprehendo castigant; qui secundum preceptum Domini in nouissimo loco recumbunt, quorum tamen illa infima sessio non opprobrium apud Deum recipit, sed honorem; non demeritum uel meritorum detrimentum, sed premium laudabile et magnifice exaltationis, ad quam optime humilitas disponit. Illa namque humiliatio laudem prebet Christo, tormentum diabolo, gloriam Dei populo; fecit seruum Christi amare ardencius, seruire deuocius, et laudare dignius, et caritate efficit plenior. Quanto uero quis amplius se humiliat: tanto laudem Dei magis exaltat. Qui autem perfecte in amore Dei et dilectione proximi perseuerauerit, et tamen se indignum et aliis inferiorem pro humilitate et sui cognitione estimauerit, inimicos uincit, summi iudicis amorem conquirat, et in eterna gaudia ab angelis recipietur quando ab hac luce transit.

1. (g) (h) "subleuato."

CAP. 29.

(Instruccio rudium et neophitorum amare cupiencium et de mulieribus uitandis.)

Anima fidelis sponsa Ihesu Christi superbiam eicit, quia profunde diligit humilitatem. Inanem gloriam abhominatur, quia solam eternitatis leticiam cupiens Christum sequitur. Carnalem repansacionem et molliciem odit, quia dulcorem eterni mellis pergustans amorem dilectissimi sui semper sentire inardescit. Iram malam non habet, quia pro amore Christi omnia sustinere se paratam prebet. Aliis uero inuidere nescit, quia uero amore rutilans omnium profectui et saluti congaudet. Nemo quippe inuidus est, nisi
 f. 43 qui in ueritate minor est et se maiorem estimat, unde contra alios ne ei equales uideantur, calumpnias parat. Uel si alius eo maior, pulchrior uel forcior inter gentes dicitur, statim dolore inuidie tactus contristatur. Sed illam uanam transitorie laudis gloriam anima non potest querere, que uel ad modicum succensa est igne speculationis superne. Ex qua re manifeste patet quod ideo homines ad inuicem inuident et mordent, quia de amore Dei, qui omnibus electis inest, nihil habent. Ubi ergo aliqui sunt qui Deum diligunt, profecto sociis suis sicut et sibi profectum concupiscunt. Igitur si in amore Dei eminere desideras, abhominabilis tibi sit omnis laus terrena; despecciones et hominum irrisiones pro Christo amplectere, et ad eterna consequenda, mentem tuam fortiter extende. Cicius eligas cum reprobis sentire tormentum ignis in pena, quam cum illis communicare in culpa. Qui uero ardentem Christum diligit et in eius amoris gaudio delicate canens securus uiuit, delectabilius sibi uidetur in eternum ignem cadere quam uel semel mortaliter peccare. Porro tales sancti sunt, quia in puritate uiuunt, terrena cuncta despiciunt, ex feruore et leticia spiritali modulando canunt, qui prius dixerunt. Amore Christi ardent, celestibus aspectibus student, bonis operibus in quantum in se est semper insistunt; deliciis eterne uite

affluunt, et tamen sibimetipsis uilissimi apparent, et inter omnes se ultiores ac infimos uident.

Conare ergo, et tu qui adhuc rudis ac neophytus es, fortiter inimicis tuis spiritualibus resistere, in corde tuo non sinas cogitationem prauam quiescere, immo contra insidias demonum, prudenciam adhibe. Cum immunda imaginatio uel cogitatio contraria proposito tuo menti tue obuiauerit, noli succumbere sed uiriliter pugna, ad Christum incessanter clama donec induaris Dei armatura. Et si mundi contemp- f. 43b
tores imitari desideras, non cogites quid relinquo, sed quid contempnas, quanto affectu uota tua coram Deo presentes, quanto desiderio amoris preces offeras, quanto ardore uidendi Deum, ei adiungi languescas. Si omne peccatum perfecte odias, si transitorium nihil queras, si terrenis solaciis renuit consolari anima tua, si superna sapias, si superna contemplari et maxime Dei Filium iugiter concupiscas, si moderate loquaris et sapienter, (quia non loquitur nisi quasi coactus, cuius spiritus melle diuini amoris et dulcedine canoris Ihesu est liquefactus,); ecce in hiis et huiusmodi exercitatus quandoque perfeccionem attinges. Talem nimirum mundi contemptorem approbat Deus. Anima namque que et suauis est per nitorem consciencie, et decora per caritatem dileccionis eterne, ortus Christi potest dici; quia a uiciis purgata, uirtutibus floret, et suauitate cantus iubilei, quasi concentu auium gaudet. Totam ergo intencionem nostram constituamus Deo obedire, Deo seruire, Deum amare, et in omni bono opere quod agimus, ad Deum peruenire intendamus.

Quid enim ualet terrena cupire uel carnalem amorem affectare, cum inde nihil durable habere poterimus, nisi iudicis iram, scilicet eternam penam? Amor quippe carnalis temptationes excitat, ne perfectam mundiciam assequatur¹ execat, peccata perpetrata occultat, ad perpetranda noua scelera incaute precipitat, ad omnes prauas delectaciones inflamat. Omnem quietem perturbat, ne Christus ardenter diligatur impedit, et omnes ante adquisitas

1. (a) "assequamur, peccata p.o."

uirtutes confundit. Unde qui libere cupit amare Christum, oculis mentis ad amorem mulieris non habeat respectum. Femine,¹ si uiros ament, insaniunt, quia modum amando tenere non sciunt. Quando autem amantur amarissime pungunt. Unum oculum habent insidiarum, alterum ueri doloris; quarum amor sensum distrahit, rationem peruertit, totam mentis sapienciam in stulticiam mutat, a Deo cor alienat, et animam captiuatam demonibus subiugat. Et

f. 44 quidam qui carnali amore, etsi non uoluntate libidinis explende mulierem respicit, nec ab illicitis motibus, nec ab immundis cogitationibus immunem se custodit, sed sepe se senciet in maculis fetidum, et ad perpetranda maiora forte delectatum.

Species uero mulierum multos decipit, cuius concupiscencia, corda eciam iustorum quandoque subuertit, utque spiritu inceperant, in carne terminentur. Caue ergo ne ita in principio bone conuersacionis cum mulieris pulchritudine colloquium habeas, quod inde sumpto uenenose delectacionis morbo, ad perferendam et implendam mentis immundiciam scienter deceptus, et uecorditer ab inimicis deuictus traheris. Fuge atque mulieres discrete, ut semper cogitationes tue ab eis distantes sint longe, quia etsi illa bona sit, tamen diabolo impugnante et suggerente, specie quoque alliciente propter carnis infirmitatem, uoluntas tua in eis ultra modum poterit delectari. Sed si incessanter amorem Christi rumines, ipsumque in conspectu tuo ubicumque habeas cum timore, estimo quod per falsa blandimenta mulieris nequam aliquando decipieris; immo quantomagis per inanes blandicias tibi uideris allici ac temptari, si illas tanquam lanuginem¹ ac fabulam, sicut sunt, contempseris, tanto nimirum uberius Domini amoris gaudio potieris.

f. 44b Mirabiliter quidem agit Christus in dilectis suis quos tenero amore et speciali ad se rapit. Non uero molliciem aut speciem carnis cupiunt, omnia temporalia obliuioni tradunt, prospera seculi non amant, nec aliqua eius aduersa formidant. Solitarii esse ualde diligunt, ut in gaudium

1. (j) and (f) have marginal note. "Non est modus in amore mulieris."

quod in diuina dilectione sentiunt, sine impedimento concurrant. Pro Christo pati eis uidetur dulcissimum, non durum. Quia qui martiris uictoriam digne uenerari desiderat, mentis deuotionem uirtutis imitatione perficiat; teneat martirii causam etsi non subeat penam seruet pacienciam, in qua consequetur uictoriam plenam.

Anima autem relinquens stulticiam iniqui amoris uiam arte uite ingreditur, in qua arra¹ dulcedinis superne uite raptim degustatur, quam consolatoriam senciens, ita ut superet omnem transitoriam delectacionem, dilectum rogat ut solitam consolacionem tribuat iugiter, et inuisibiliter se reficiat et gratiam perseuerancie infundat, ne diuersis erroribus fatigata deficiat. Si uero iuuenis incipiat benefacere, semper cogitet perseuerare, non torpeat necque unquam a bono proposito desistat, sed semper in mente proficiat ut a minori ad maius ascendat. Reicito siquidem erroris obumbraculo et illicebrose uite uenenata dulcedine despecta et eiecta, artam uiam arripiens, iam sublimis deuotionis suauitatem amplectitur. Unde et quasi per gradus infusis donis Spiritus Sancti ad diuine contemplacionis celsitudinem ascendit, in qua eterni amoris ardore requietus ac delectatus, supernis deliciis ut mortalibus fas est affluit.] Dilecta denique² anima uariis perturbacionibus obsita, et estu temptationum afflicta, non potest sentire dulcedinem amoris prout in se est; gaudium tamen amoris experta, et stabili cursu amato suo adherens, quamuis illa mira dulcedine carere posset, tanto desiderio Christum diligit quod pro solo eius amore perseueraret. Sed quam laudandum est adiutorium eius gratissimum, in quo amator uerissimus expertus est, quod gementem consolatur, desolatum indulcorat, perturbatum tranquillat, et per turbaciones dissipando deuastat. Anima a uiciis seculi segregata f. 45 et a carnalibus desideriis alienata, a peccatis purgatur.

1. (*h*) "arram." "arra" = sing. of "arrhae," "munera in sponsalibus dari solita" (Ducange). (*f*), f. 84, defines "arra": "arra dicitur 'a re,' pro qua datur arra" (see p. 7). For the use of the expression cf. Hugh of S. Victor's *De arrha animae*, *Patrol. Lat.* clxxvi, 955.

2. (*h*) "quidem."

Unde et quandam suauitatem future leticie intelligit sibi¹ adesse qua in spe confirmatur, et certa est de regno adepturo²; et in hac uita Christo dat poculum delectabile conditum ex feruente amore et insignibus donorum spiritualium cum floribus uirtutum, quod placatus Christus recepit, qui pro amore *de torrente in uia bibit*.³

CAP. 30.

(De occulto Dei iudicio in relapsis per nos non iudicandis; et fortis inueccio contra adquirentes.)

[Sed⁴ querere solent quidam : quomodo posset fieri quod plures qui asperrimam uitam duxerant, atque iscius mundi gaudia prorsus deseruisse uidebantur, postea ad uomitum relabi non timeant, et bono fine non sunt terminandi. Taceamus temere iudicare, si uolumus non errare. Non est nostrum interim nosse occulta Dei iudicia. Omnia autem quemadmodum expedit, post hanc uitam erunt manifestata. f. 45b Omnes uie Domini iudicia sunt et iocunda, scilicet uera et iusta nec istum absque mira iusticia reprobant, nec illum sine magna misericordia que etiam iusta est, ad uitam eligebat. Proinde pensare debemus, quod *abyssus sicut uestimentum amictus eius*.⁵ Unde et timendum nobis est dum in uia sumus, et incaute nequaquam presumendum; quia nescit homo utrum odio uel amore dignus sit, aut quo fine ab hac luce recessurus. Timere debent boni ne in malum decendant, sperare possunt mali ut a sua malicia resurgant.]

Porro si perdurent in cupiditatibus et nequiciis suis, frustra se estimant securos de misericordia, cum ipsorum quidem iniquitas non sit dimissa. Quia peccatum nunquam dimittitur priusquam deseratur neque tunc nimirum nisi satisfaccio premittatur et premissam quam cito poterit

1. (g) omits. 2. (j) uncorrected, "adopturo." (k) "adipiscendo."

3. *Psalm.* 109, 7. (h) (i) (j) (o) (s) (t) (u) have "bibit, etc. Quoniam autem in ecclesia cantores."

4. This chapter is a digression from Rolle's main subject, and was probably omitted from the short text for that reason.

5. *Psalm.* 103, 6.

peccator implere se non fingit. Potentes autem et diuites seculares qui in alienis possessionibus acquirendis insaciabiliter estuabant, atque ex illorum diuiciis et bonis in terrenam magnitudinem potenciamque mundanam succreuerunt, ementes paruo precio quod secundum transitoriam substantiam erat magni ualoris, aut in officiis regiis seu magnatum constituti, donaria plurima sine merito et remuneracione acceperunt, ut deliciis et uoluptatibus ac honoribus potirentur, non me sed beatum Iob audiant. *Ducunt*, inquit, *in bonis dies suos, et in puncto ad infernum descendunt*.¹ Ecce totum in uno puncto perdunt quod per totam uitam suam adquirere studuerunt. Cum hiis morabatur sapientia huius mundi, que stulticia apud Deum appellatur, et prudenciam carnis cognouerunt, que inimica est Deo. Propterea potentes potenter tormenta patientur, quia Deum scientes, non Deum sed semetipsos glorificantes euauerunt in cogitacionibus suis, dicentes se esse sapientes, stulti facti sunt. Et qui gloriam et delicias experti sunt f. 46 istius seculi, ad profunditatem peruenerunt fetentis inferni.

Quippe inter cunctos qui mundi uiciis alligantur, de nullis, ut arbitror, tam parua spes est habenda saluacionis, quemadmodum de istis quos uulgus terre perpetratores² appellant. Cum enim omnem fortitudinem ac iuuentutem suam in alienis possessionibus adipiscendis per fas et per nefas effundunt, postea in senectute sua quasi secure quiescunt, retinentes que illicite habuerunt. Sed quia consciencia timida est, nequicia dat testimonium condemnationi. Quando solum ab iniustis exaccionibus cessantes, alienis bonis tamquam sua propria essent uti non formident. Forsitan si totaliter aliena redderent, pauca sibi remanerent; sed quia superbi sunt, mendicare erubescunt, uel potius ab honore pristino cadere non sustinent. Unde et dicunt se fodere non ualere.³ Eligunt itaque, decepti a demonibus, mundanam miseriam euadere: ut eternam et infernalem paciantur sine fine. Denique dum tales in orbe dominantur, et tyrannidis sue potestate minores opprimunt,

1. *Iob*, 21, 13. 2. Misyn, "purchesurs." 3. *Luc.* 16, 3.

aliis utique, in tale culmen¹ huius exilli nequaquam exaltatis, non est timendum sed potius gaudendum; quia ne tales fierent a Deo dilecti refrenantur, testante psalmista, ubi dicit: *Ne timueris cum diues factus fuerit homo, et cum multiplicata fuerit gloria domus eius.*² Quoniam cum interierit non sumet omnia necque descendet cum eo gloria eius, immo nec gutta aque peruenit ad linguam diuitis
 f. 46b ardentis in inferno. Omnem enim gloriam suam moriendo amittit, et solum peccatum suum pro quo ineternum cruciabitur cum eo ad terram tenebrosam descendit.】

CAP. 31.³

(Quare perfecte contemplatiui cantibus exterioribus non attendunt; et de errore reprehendencium eos, et de modo proficiendi in contemplacione.)

f. 85b Quoniam autem in ecclesia cantores et cantatrices ordinantur in gradibus suis constituti ad laudandum Deum, et ad prouocandum populum ad deuocionem: mihi quidem occurrerunt aliqui interrogantes cur sicut ceteri nollem hoc agere, cum sepe me cernerent missarum solempnis interesse. Arbitrantur enim in hoc me errasse, asserentes omnes debere modulari corporaliter coram Conditorem, et musicam⁴ exterioris⁵ uocis personare. Quamobrem conticui quia qualiter melos⁶ ad mediatorem emisi, et dulces edidi modulos, omnino ignorabant. Estimauerunt autem neminem spiritualia cantica percepisse, quia ipsi qua ratione talia euenirent intelligere nequiverunt. Et insania siquidem existit hoc

1. All the long texts read "omen," which seems corrupt. Misyn reads "melody" (=odam?), but though this word is used by Rolle, it makes no sense here.

2. *Psalm.* 48, 17.

3. (f), f. 53b, marks this chapter: "Liber Secundus, cap. i," as do Misyn and (n). This MS., like (j) and unlike (f), gives the chapter headings in the form of a *tabula* at the end. The division of the *Incendium Amoris* into "Liber Primus" (with 30 chapters) and "Liber Secundus" (with 12 chapters) and the table of chapter headings, are probably the work of John Newton, or an early scribe, and not Rolle. No other long text MS. gives the chapter headings, or the division into two books; nor do any of the short texts. See *Introd.*, pp. 7, 64.

4. (f) "musicum." 5. (g) "exercioris." 6. Sic. Rolle uses both "melos" and "melum" for "melody."

arbitrare, quod alius precipue, (si sit Deo perfecte mancipatus,) non acciperet a dilecto suo aliquod donum speciale quod non multis datur, quia ipsi in se nihil tale inuenerunt.

Proinde cogitavi quidem quodammodo aliqualem ostendere responsionem, et redarguentibus omnino non desperare.¹ Quid enim ad ipsos pertinet de uita aliorum, quorum mores in multis suam uitam excellere non ignorant? Et multo magis superiores sunt in hiis que uideri non possunt. An non licet Deo quod uult facere? An oculi eorum nequam sunt quia ipse bonus est? Numquid et uolunt redigere uoluntatem Dei ad mensuram illorum? Nonne omnes f. 86 homines Dei sunt, et quos uult assumit, quos uult relinquit, quibus uult et quando uult dat quod ei placet, ad ostendam magnificenciam bonitatis sui? Estimo quod ideo murmurant et detrahunt quia uellent quod alii superiores descenderent, et ipsis minoribus se in omnibus conformarent, quia putant se superiores cum merito sunt inferiores. Hinc ergo inuenit animus meus audaciam ut aliquantulum aperirem musicam meam que accensit ex incendio amoris,² et in qua iubilo coram Ihesum, et pneumata resono suauissimi concentus. Porro etiam prestantius astiterunt aduersum me, eo quod cantica exteriora que in ecclesii consueta sunt frequentari, organica quoque modulamina que ab astantibus audiuntur fugere curavi, (inter hec dumtaxat existens, aut quando necessitas misse audiende exigeret, quam alibi audire non poteram, aut dies solempnis cogeret, propter obliquos³ morsus populorum). Assidens⁴ enim esse exoptavi, ut Christo soli intenderem, igitur canorem spiritualement mihi dederat, in quos ei laudes ac preces adolerem.⁵ Hoc arguentes me non opinabantur, ideoque ad suam formam reducere conati sunt; sed non potui gratiam Christi deserere, et stultis hominibus, qui me

1. "Hide from"; apparently a barbarous word, used as correlative of the "aperire musicam meam," of succeeding lines.

2. Not merely formal phrase. *Canor* succeeded *feruor*, with Rolle.

3. (g) (k) "aliquos."

4. (γ) uncorrected, "absens."

5. Misyn, "offyr." Ducange, "adolere, illuminare; adolet, exsurget."

interius omnino non cognouerunt consentire.¹ [Sustinui ergo eos loqui, et feci quod faciendum erat secundum statum in quem me Dominus transferebat. Proinde propalabo, gloriam Christi regracians, ut non amplius in aliis huiusmodi sic insaniant, nec assideos deinceps temere iudicare presumant; quia non est ex simulacione aut imaginariis quod feci suscepcionibus, ut quidam de me interpretabantur; et quibus multi seducuntur, qui se suscepisse suspicati sunt quod nunquam susceperunt. Sed in ueritate uenit in me inuisibile gaudium, et realiter intra me concalui igne amoris, qui utique ab istis inferioribus rebus assumpsit cor meum, ut iubilans in Ihesu longe ab interiore armonia in interiorem euolarem. Cumque contaminaciones odirem, et uerborum uanitates euacuarem, cibaria quoque superflue non sumere nec indiscrete temperare me contendi: quamuis dicebar domibus diuitum deditus, ut bene pascerer, et in deliciis delectarer. Sed agente Deo habui animum aliter ordinatum ut superna magis saperem quam suauitatem ciborum, et exinde equidem quoniam solitudinem amare non cessauim extra homines saltem existere elegi, nisi cogentibus carnis necessariis, successiue solacium accepi ex ipso quem amaui.

Quia nimirum non est autumandum² quod aliquis in principio sue conuersionis contemplatiue uite conscendat culmina aut dulcedinem eius presenciat, quando constat quod contemplacio multo tempore et magis labore adquiritur non statim cuilibet passim datur, etsi cum effabili leticia possidetur. Non enim in humana potestate est illam acciperé, nec uero labor alicuius quantumcumque extensus ipsam meretur: sed a bonitate tribuitur Dei uere diligentibus qui utique supra hominum estimacionem Christum amare desiderauerunt. Unde plerique post penitenciam], exciderunt ab innocencia, iterum dilabentes ad ocium, immo

1. Short texts:—"consentire. Sustinui ergo eos loqui et feci quod faciendum erat, secundum statum in quem Dominus me transferebat. Item uenit in me inuisibile gaudium et realiter intra me concalui igne amoris, qui utique ab istis inferioribus rebus assumpsit cor meum, ut iubilans in Ihesu longe ab exteriori armonia in interiorem euolarem. Item plerique post penitenciam exciderunt, etc.," p. 234.

2. (a) "estimandum."

et abhominaciones Egiptiorum. Quia in caritate cremantes non fuerunt, suauitatem contemplacionis ita tenuiter et tam raro experti, quod insufficientes essent stare dum temptarentur. Aut certe affecti tedio et fastidientes manna, ollas f. 86b carnum, scilicet, affari¹ inter epulantes et consolaciones seculares affectarent. Multum quidem ualet ad contemptum mundi desiderium celestis regni, appetitum amoris Dei; et ad odium peccati, iugis leccio siue meditacio sanctorum librorum. In hiis enim utiliter exercitata, deuota anima et edocta contra inimici iacula in promptu habet munimenta. Confusio autem diaboli est quando omni temptationi pretendimus² uerbum Dei. Siquidem sustinentes recte, et portantes in paciencia pondus diei et estus, atque induci nequaquam se sinentes in dileccionem dulcedinis deceptiue : post multas lacrimas, oracionesque assiduas inflammabuntur amore eterno, et calorem in se sencent sine fine permansurum, quia in illorum meditatione ignis exardescet.

CAP. 32.

(Instruccio ad uitam contemplatiuam, orando, meditando, ieiuando, uigilando, et de presumptuosis contemplatiuis et ueris, ac uere canoro iubilo.)

Electus igitur ad amorem omnino solum Christum optans, seque in amatum transformans, qui nec terrenam substantiam habet, nec habere concupiscit, sed per uoluntariam paupertatem Christum sequens ex aliorum elemosinis contentus uiuit, cum clara fuerit eius consciencia, celestique sapore suauis effecta, totum cor suum in amorem Conditoris effundet,³ et cotidiano incremento supernis desideriis succendi laborabit. Omnis siquidem abrenunciens huic seculo, si igne Spiritus Sancti ueraciter cupit inflammari, oracioni ac meditationi incumbere non frigescat. Ex hiis namque lacrimis comitantibus fauente Christo mens ad

1. Ducange. "Affari; sentire, cognoscere."

2. (f) (g) (h) "protendimus." 3. (g) "effundit."

amandum mirabiliter incendetur, incensa iocundabitur, iocunda in uitam contemplatiuam eleuabitur. Exit autem in hanc excellenciam animus dum per excessum euolat et supra se rapitur, et oculo mentali apertum celum secreta offert intuenda.

f. 87 Primum quidem oportet ipsum exerceri assidue per non paucos annos in orando et meditando, necessaria corporis uix carpendo. Ita in hiis exequendis ardens existet, et omni simulacione eiecta, ad diuinum amorem die nocteque querendum et senciendum non torperet. Ex hinc itaque omnipotens amator, amantem suum animans ad amorem, suscipiet eum in sublime supra terrigenas et tumultus uiciosarum ac uanarum cogitacionum, ut nequaquam *musce morientes suauitatem perdant unguenti*,¹ quoniam plene mortue euanescunt. Et deinceps denique dulcescet ei dileccio, diuina dulcedine quoque delicatissima inebriabitur, melque premirificum degustabit, ut in seipso non senciat nisi solacium saporis infusi celicus, et signum summe sanctitatis. Uerum hoc dulcore delibutus eciam uigilare conabitur:—Utpote qui ardore amoris eterni realiter et sensibiliter cor suum urens² sentit nec quidem discedit mentem mellifluo illustrante misterio; quandoquidem et alii qui non inequales illi estimabantur, per imaginacionem tantum habent ardorem. Quamobrem qui non ueritate sed in umbra existentes, uocati ad nupcias priorem locum sibi indigni usurpare non uerentur, in iusto nimirum examine descendent cum rubore, et posteriorem sedem obtinebunt. De hiis enim dicitur: *Cadent a latere tuo mille et decem millia a dextris tuis*.³ Sed utinam seipsos cognoscerent ac proprias consciencias inuestigarent, (presumptuosi nequaquam existerent,) neque aliorum meritis se comparantes, melioribus insultarent. Dilector siquidem deitatis, cuius interiora precordia amore inuisibilis speciei funditus penetrantur, qui et medullas uniuersas anime sue letificatas habet, gaudet feruore amenissimo quia et deuocioni iugi pro Deo se donauit. Continuo cum uoluerit Christus, non suo

1. *Ecclesiastes*, 10, 1. 2. So (g) alone; other MSS. have various confused readings. 3. *Psalms*. 90, 7.

merito, sonum accipiet in se ex supernis inmissum, et meditatio mutabitur in melos, mensque in mirifica morabitur armonia.

Est enim angelica suauitas quam in animam accipit et f. 87b eadem oda, etsi non eisdem uerbis laudes Deo resonabitur. Qualis angelorum, talis est iscius concentus, etsi non tantus, nec tam perspicuus, propter carnem corruptibilem que adhuc aggrauat amantem : qui hoc experitur eciam angelica cantica expertus est cum eiusdem speciei : in uia est, et in patria.¹ Sonus enim ad canticum pertinet, non ad carmen quod cantatur. Illa laus cibus est angelicus, in quo eciam uiatores nonnulli, sed amore ardentissimi, in Ihesu iubilantes iocundatur, quando iam in se susceperunt iudicium laudis eterne que ab angelis Deo decantatur. Huic psalmista cecinit *Panem angelorum manducauit homo*.² Exinde igitur innouatur natura et in diuinam gloriam,³ formamque felicissimam, transmigrabit, ut sonorum sit, et dulce ac diuinum, quod deinceps in se senciatur, delicias quoque eterni amoris cum maxima suauitate⁴ indefesse cantat.

Ob hoc utique euenit huiusmodi amatori, quod nequaquam in aliquorum doctorum scriptis inueni, aut reperi expressum.⁵ Quod uidelicet erumpet canor ille usque ad os, et orationes suas moduletur cum symphonia spirituali et suauitate celica, fietque impediioris lingue. Quoniam pre habundancia interni⁶ gaudii et sonoritate singulari pneumatizando moram faciens, quod prius ipsum non nisi per unius hore spacium occupabat : iam sepe per dimidiam diem uix implebit. Solus siquidem sedebit dum hoc accipiet, cum aliis ad psalmodiam minime se inmiscens, et precipue cum ceteris non cantabit. Non dico quod omnes hoc attemptent, sed cui datum est faciat quod uelit, quia a Spiritu Sancto ducitur, necque propter uerba hominum a

1. (j) "cum sit eiusdem speciei in uia et in patria."

2. *Psalm.* 77, 25. 3. (f) (g) (i) "formam."

4. (u) has one or more folios missing here.

5. So (g) (d), "scriptis aut reperi expressum." (h) "scriptis reperi expressum." (k) "scriptis reperi expressum." (j) "reperi expertum."

6. (g) "eterni."

sua uita deriuetur. Porro in claritate et igne manebit cor eius, et in mirabilem melodiam subleuabitur. Non respiciet¹ personam hominis, ideo a pluribus stultus uel rusticus reputatur. Quia Deum in canora iubilatione laudabit, laudem enim Dei ex intimis precordiis eructat, et uox eius dulcissima in excelsis usque peruenit, quam audire delectatur maiestas diuina.

- f. 88 Faciem habet decorem, cuius speciem rex concupiscit, unde et sapienciam increatam in se tenet. Trahitur enim sapiencia ex occultis, et delicie sue esse cum amatoribus eternitatis, quia non inuenitur in terra suauiter uiuencium; manet autem in eo de quo predixi, quia totus in amore Christi liquescit, et omnia interiora eius ad Deum clamant. Clamor iste amor est canorus, quia magnam uocem eleuat usque ad aures Dei: est et desiderium boni, affeccioque uirtutis. Clamor eius extra mundum est, quia mens eius nihil preter Christum concupiscit. Ignitus est eius interior homo igne amoris ut sit cor eius lucens et urens et nihil exterius agat, quod non possit ad bonum interpretari. Laudat Deum in iubilo, sed in silencio; non ad aures hominum sed in conspectu Dei et ineffabili suauitate odas emittit, id est laudes.

CAP. 33.

(Quod canticum spirituale non compatitur exteriorem; et ratio et error contradicencium; et de sciencia infusa et inspirata, quomodo differt ab adquisita.)

Sed in hoc sciat sublimatus in sanctitate quod canticum experitur, de quo sermocinor, si non ualeat sustinere clamorem psallencium nisi canor eius interior ad cogitatum redigatur, et exteriora² ad dicendum sit dilapsus. Quod quidam autem inter cantantes uel psalmodizantes distrahuntur in sua deuocione, non est ex perfeccione, sed instabilitate mentis, quia aliorum uerba interrumpunt suas preces et confundunt, quod quidem perfectis non contingit.

1. (g) "respiciat."

2. Short texts "interior."

Ita enim stabiliti sunt, quod nullo clamore uel tumultu aut quacumque alia re distrahi poterunt ab oratione uel cogitatione; sed tantum a canore per talia diuelli. Istud namque dulce canticum spirituale quidem et speciale¹ ualde, quia specialissimis datum est; cum exterioribus canticis non concordat, que in ecclesiis uel alibi frequentatur. Dissonat autem multum ab omnibus que humana et exteriori uoce formantur, corporalibus auribus audienda; sed inter f. 88b angelicos concentus armoniam habet acceptabilem admirationeque commendatum est ab hiis qui cognouerunt.

Uidete et intelligite, uiri, et nolite falli, quia ostendi uobis ad honorem omnipotentis Dei et ad commodum nostrum: cur fugiebam cantantes in ecclesiis et qua ratione meipsum eis immiscere non amaui, ac ludentes in organis non audire adoptari. Impedimentum enim exhibebant sonoris amenitate et preclara carmina deficere cogeant. Non est ergo mirum si fugissem quod me confunderet, et in quo culpandus fueram, si destiti ab hoc quod me a dilectissimo cantico meo depellere sciebam. Errassem utique sialiter egissem, sed non ignoraui a quo accepi, unde conformaui me omnino, ut eius perficerem uoluntatem; ne ingrato auferret quod gratis largiebatur. Delectabar utique in solitudine sedere ut extra tumultus positus liquidius canerem et feruentibus precordiis meis suauissimam iubilacionem experirer, quod ipsam sine ambiguitate de munere ipsius quem super omnia inestimabiliter amaui accepissem. Non enim efferbuit cor meum in concupiscenciam corporalem, neque a creatura concepi consolatorium carmen quod canens in Ihesu iubilauit. Amor equidem adhuc inducebatur, ut non consisterem in qualitate, qua indigni deprimuntur, sed ut subleuarer supra altitudinem omnem uisibilem, et ab empyrio accensus et illuminatus ad laudandum Deum; cuius laus in ore adhuc sordido non est speciosa. Quamobrem cui ita aperiretur fenestra² imperforabilis omnibus aliquid preter unum amantibus, non esset mirum si mutaretur eius natura in nobilitatem dignitatis inexplicabilis, factus

1. (k) "spirituale: cum exterioribus canticis est, non concordat."

2. cf. p. 189n.

liber et lucens. Quam nobilem libertatem omnes in eternum ignorabunt, qui nunc nesciunt diligere et suauitatem in Christo sentire. Nec debui sine dubio cessare a deuocione defecatisima propter detractores qui in meam innocenciam maliuolos morsus iniecerunt, ac debui debellare omnem impietatem et amare eos qui incitauerunt ad maiora mihi mala, et exinde augeretur gracia amatori, dum non attenderet uerbis in uentum prolatis sed profecto corde se extenderet ad amatum, et propositum infatigabiliter prosequeretur. Hinc itaque uanitatis affectus euauit, et uerus amor in mente erupit, ut amantis animus non refrigescens, sed in calore comfortabili persisteret, et cor a continua cogitatione amantissimi sui nequaquam quateretur. In hac quidem constancia accidit amanti excellencia amoris, ut in igneum celum assumptus, ibi incenderetur ineffabiliter ad amandum, et ureretur intra se amplius quam aliquis exprimere potuerit, et gradus graciaram amplexaretur. Et inde accepit sapienciam et subtilitatem, ut sciret loqui inter loculentos¹ et audaciter preferret quod dicendum duxit, quamuis idiota et insipiens antea estimaretur et eciam existeret.

Sed docti per adquisitam sapienciam, non infusam, et inflati argumentacionibus implicitis, in ipso dedignantur dicentes: "Ubi didicit? a quo doctore audiuit?" Non arbitrantur ab interiori doctore amatores eternitatis edoceri, ut eloquencius loquerentur quam ipsi ab hominibus docti, qui omni tempore pro uanis honoribus studuerunt. Si autem antiquitus Spiritus Sanctus plures inspirauit: cur eciam non nunc assumeret amantes ad gloriam Domini speculandam, cum ipsis prioribus moderni approbati non sunt inequales? Approbacionem autem hanc ab hominibus non appello, qui sepe in approbacionibus suis errant, eligentestales quos Deus despexit et despicientes quos eligit. Sed tales omnino² approbatos, quos amor eternus medullitus inflamat et Spiritus Sancti gracia ad omne bonum inspirat. Qui omnium uirtutum flore insigniti in dileccione

1. (h) "locupletes." (k) (q) "luculentos." 2. (i) (f) "animo." i j

Dei iugiter iubilant, et cuncta que ad uana mundi gaudia pertinent, falsosque honores superbe uite et execrabilis sub affectuum¹ pedibus conculcant. Hii nimirum eiciuntur ab hominibus, sed in conspectu Dei et sanctorum angelorum magnifici commendantur, quorum corda ad omnia aduersa tolleranda sistunt inconcussa, nec uento uanitatis se sinunt circumferri. Denique ad Christum deportantur, cum sublimi sanctitate, quando illi quos homines acceptabunt eligentes, deiciuntur in dampnationem et in tormentum trahuntur cum demonibus sine fine cruciandi.²

CAP. 34.³

(De superexcellencia canori iubili, et quod nec dici nec scribi possit; nec sodalem recipit; et de caritate canencium et de elacione habencium scienciam adquisitam.)

Reuera non absque ratione rapitur amator omnipotentis f. 46b ad excelsa intellectu intuenda, atque ad canendum canticum amorosum erumpens in anima, qui ardentem ac euidentem uritur incendio amoris et dilatatur in dulcifluam deuotionem, in ymnis existens qui mel mediatoris spirant pulcherrime. Ex quo in omnem amenitatem decantans introducit fons feruoris interni exuberans in amenitatem in amplexu suscipitur, et singulari solacio cum impetu meatu amenissimi dilectus debriatus in ardoribus optimis adornatur. Candet quidem supra niuem nitidus et rubet plus quam rosa, quia igne diuino incenditur, et mundicia consciencie in albis ambulans decoratur. Ad hoc ergo assumptus est in secreto super alios, quia in mente sua permanet melos, et melliflua moratur abundancia ardoris; ut non solum in se holocausta offerret medullata, et Christo laudes in musico spirituali persolueret, sed etiam ut alios excitaret ad amandum in Deo se deuote et perfecte festinent tribuere. Cui sic amanti ipsum et ei in omni corde adherenti etiam in

1. (g) "aspectuum." (h) "affectum."

2. (h) "explicit capm. uicesimum secundum." In this short text no other chapter is marked, and "22nd" does not agree with the common numbering of the chapters in the short texts, as in (o) (s) (t).

3. John Newton marks this "capitulum tricesimum quartum."

hoc exilio dignatur iocundare. Exsuperat enim omnem sensum delectatio ipsa quam diligendo Ihesum degustauit; nec sufficio uel ad modicum enarrare [minimum punctum huius gaudii; quia ineffabilem feruorem quis exprimet? f. 47 infinitam dulcedinem quis denudet? immo si fari uellem hoc ineffabile gaudium sic mihi uidear, quasi inundans mare per guttam et guttam niterer exhaustire, et in modicum terre foramen totum instillando detrudere. Quam nimirum nec ego qui uix illius excellencie guttam degusto immensitatem eterne dulcedinis uobis possum reserare; nec uos sensibus obtusi, et carnalibus cogitationibus distracti, immo si essitis sapientis ingenii et diuinis obsequiis mancipati, ipsam poteritis capere. Si tamen omnino celestia sapere conaremini, diuinaque dilectione studeretis inflammari, sine dubio influeret in uos abundanter ipsius dulcoris delectatio, que penetrabilia mentium uestrarum replendo miram iocunditatem instillaret. Quanto enim caritate pleniores eritis, tanto illius gaudii uos capaciores estimetis. Propiores quippe Deo eternitaliter assistant, qui ipsum in tempore ardencius ac suauius amauerunt. Qui uero diuino amore sunt uacui, terrenis sordibus sunt repleti, et sic inanibus fabulis adherentes oblectamenta querunt in exterioribus bonis que uidentur, atque interiorum bonorum obliti, quorum altitudo a mortalibus oculis absconditur; dum solacia transitoria tota intencione subeunt, in sua siquidem eleuacione a gloriosa perpetuitate euanescunt. Proinde liquet quod cupiditas in futuro exulat; caritas autem regnat, econtra in presenti a plerisque agitur, immo pene ab omnibus, quod cupiditas eciam in aulam regiam introducitur; caritas, quasi esset perdicioni consensciens, incarcerationatur, immo a regno eicitur in exilium. Sed tamen habitaculum inuenit in cordibus electorum. Recedit a superbis, quiescit in humilibus. Falluntur multi miseri que se Deum amare fingunt cum non diligunt, putantes se et exterioribus negociis occupari, et amore Christi Ihesu ueraciter perfrui cum dulcedine. Estimantque se et per mundum discurrere et contemplatiuos esse; quod impossibile arbitrantur qui

f. 47b

Deum feruenter diligunt, et in contemplatiuam uitam exierunt. Sed ipsi insipidi celesti sapiencia non imbuti, sed sciencia acquisita inflati, male de seipsis senciunt, et Deum adhuc cum amore tenere nescierunt.

Hinc clamo et affectu suspiciens aio, *Saluum me fac Deus quoniam defecit sanctus*.¹ Deficiunt ympidici, silent uoces canencium; non apparet ardor sanctorum amatorum. Unusquisque declinat in uiam suam malam; dolorem quem in corde concepit, in effectum producere non desistit. Consumunt in uanitate dies eorum, et annos eorum cum festinatione. Heu iuuenem simul ac uirginem lactantem, cum homine sene ignis concupiscencie deuorauit.² Mihi autem, O bone Ihesu, tibi adherere bonum est; quia in ipsorum consilia non ueniet anima mea, sed tibi solitarie sedens iubilabo,³ qui dulcescis dum laudaris, [ut te continue laudare, non sit durum, sed dulcifluum: non amarum sed amenum plusquam omnibus deliciis corporalibus ac mundanis abundare. Delectabile quidem et desiderabile est tuis laudibus insistere, quia omne quod tanto amore conditum existit, miro nimirum fragrat sapore.

Amator itaque estuans in ipsos incorporeos amplexus, et oculo intellectuali amatum suum intueri, (purgatis spurciciis et euanescentibus cogitationibus omnibus, que non ad unum tendunt), anhelans: habet utique clamorem ad Conditorem suum, ex intimis medullis amoris affectuosi excitatum et erumpentem, quasi a longe clamaret. Uocem eleuat in- f. 48
teriolem, que non nisi in amante ardentissimo, (ut in uia fas est) inuenitur. Hic deficio pre insipiencia et hebetudine ingenii: quia non sufficio hunc clamorem describere, nec eciam quantus sit uel quasi iocundus cogitare, sentire, et efferre pro modulo meo potui. Sed uobis enarrare nec potui nec potero, quia ipsum sensum meum superare non ignoro, nisi forte dicere uelim quod clamor iste canor est.

Quis ergo mihi modularetur carmina cantuum meorum, et gaudia affectuum cum ardoribus amoris, et amorose adoles-

1. *Psalm.* 11, 2. 2. cf. *Deut.* 32, 25, and *Psalm.* 77, 33.

3. Short texts: "Item dulcescis dum laudaris."

cencie mee uscionem, ut saltem ex canticis caritatis sodalis subtiliter indagarem substanciam meam, et mensuram modulacionum, in quibus prestabilis putarer, mihi innotesceret, si forte ab infelicitate exemptum me inuenirem, et quod per me predicare non presumo, quia nondum reperi quod exopto, in solaciis socii mei requiescerem cum dulcore. Siquidem si clamorem illum canorem ab extrinsecis auribus omnino absconditum arbitrer, (quod et uere esse audeo annunciare,) utinam et illius modulaminis inueniam auctorem hominem, qui etsi non dictis, tamen scriptis mihi gloriam meam decantaret, et pneumataque nexus in nomine nobilissimo coram amato meo edere non erubui, canendo ac pneumatizando depromeret. Hic etenim esset mihi amabilis super aurum: et omnia preciosa non adequarem ei que habentur in hoc exilio. Uenustas namque uirtutis cum ipso habitat, et amoris arcana perfeccius inuestigat. Diligerem denique illum sicut cor meum nec esset aliquid quod ab ipso occultare intenderem, quia canorem quod cupio
 f. 48b intelligere mihi exprimeret, et iubilum iocunditatis mee clarius enodaret. In hac equidem apercione exultarem amplius, aut certe uberius emularem; quoniam mihi ostenderetur incendium amoris et sonora iubilatio euidenter effulgeret. Clamosa quoque cogitacio sine laudatore non laberetur, neque si in ambiguis laborarem. Nunc uero me deprimunt languores erumpuosi exilii et molescie aggrauantes uix ne subsistere permittunt, et cum intus inardescam calore increato, foris quasi fuscus et infelix sine luce delitesco.

Ergo ne, Deus meus, cui deuocionem offero absque ficcione, recordaberis mei in miseracione? quia miser sum, misericordia indigeo; et nonne languorem qui me ligat subleuabis in lucem, ut opportune habeam quod concupisco? Laboremque quoque quo luo quod deliqui, mutabis in mellicum mansionem, ut melodia perseueret ubi demorabatur tristitia, et uideam in uenustate sui decoris dilectum quem desidero, et laudem eum eternaliter tentus tactu eius, quia ad ipsum languéo.

CAP. 35.

(Meditatio languentis in dilectum et desolacio de sodali, et quomodo ordinatim peruenit ad amoris incendium.)

O Ihesu in te cum iubilacione ardeo, et iugiter ingeret se estus amoris, ut te, o amantissime, plene amplexarer, et differor dilectissime ab hoc ad quod anhelō. Insuper et anguscie accidunt, ac uasta solitudo uiam intercludit, amanciumque habitaciones in unum adhuc non sinit edificari. Sed utinam uel sodalem in itinere ostendisses, ut illius exhortacione langor letificaretur, et uinculum insolubilis suspirii, si non cito tua suauiissima uisione scinderetur,¹ in tantum stringeret quod artaret² amatorem tuum amoris magnitudine claustra carnis egredi, et coram tua proici maiestate. Interim autem exultans in ymptis tuis degerem f. 49 dulciter cum socio quem dedisses, et collectaremur in sermonibus sinceritatis sine contrauersia, epulantes equidem in amenitate amoris atque inuicem cantica amorosa indicaremus, donec deducti ab hoc ergastulo exteriori, in interiora habitacula introduceremur, simul sorcientes sedem inter celicolas, qui eodem modo ac mensura Christum amabamus.

Heu, quid agam? Quamdiu dilacionem pacior? Quo fugiam, ut fruar feliciter ad quod festino? Egens sum et esuriens, angusciatus et afflictus, uulneratus et decoloratus ob absenciam amati mei, quia cruciant me accerrus amoris, et spes que differtur affligit animam. Hinc clamor cordis ascendit, et canora cogitacio currit inter choros conuiuium, appetens eleuari usque ad altissimi auditum: quo cum peruenerit, negocium suum profert et ait:

“O amor meus! O mel meum! O cithara mea! O psalterium meum et canticum tota die! Quando medeberis merori meo? O radix cordis mei, quando uenies ad me ut assumas tecum suspicientem tibi spiritum meum? Uides enim quod uulneror uitaliter specie preclara, et langor non relaxatur; immo magis ac magis in augmentum erigitur, ac premunt me penalitates presentes et pungunt, ut properem

1. (a) “ostenderetur.” 2. (f) “arteret.”

ad te, a quo solo spero me solacium remediumque uisurum."

Interea quis mihi modulabitur finem erumpne mee, ac terminum in tranquillitate? Immo et quis mihi annunciabit gaudii mei plenitudinem, ac cantici consumacionem, ut ex hiis eciam acciperem consolacionem et iubilarem cum iocunditate, eo quod agnoscerem quam prope sit illa
f. 49b perfeccio et finis infelicitatis mee? Unde excellentem ederem clamorem, et uox mea amati mei duriciam demulceret quatinus si flagellat, occidat semel et paulatim puniens de penis innocencium non semper rideat! Exhinc potero predicari felix, et amenissimum amoris haustum sine omni immundicia internum habere; atque angusciis usquaque eliminatis, subsistere in perfeccione sanctitatis, et gaudii laudes personans cum celica symphonia, quandoquidem eciam inter has erumnas egens; exultauit intra arcana mea amoris ardor almiphoni, et medullitus mellita Ihesu memoria, quasi cum musico mentem meam mirificant, ut iocundatus granditus in iubilo quem ex supernis suscepi, non sentirem uenenatam dulcedinem indigne dileccionis, quam suauem habent qui florent in forma carnis, necque turbulenta terrenitas me teneret.

O speciosissime¹ et preamabilis in decore tuo, reminiscere quod propter te transitoriam potestatem non timui, mementoque quomodo ut tibi adhererem, omnem abiecerim amorem, qui illicit incautos ad omnia que impediunt te Deum diligere; et fugaces fugerim pulchritudines que captiuos ducunt uiros, et mulierculas mittunt in maliciam. Nec placuit mihi iuueniles exercere iocos, qui per impuritatem ingenuos animos insipientie subiciunt seruituti. Tibi deinceps non cessauit exhibere cor tactum desiderio; sed et tu tenuisti illud, ut non deflueret in diuersas concupiscenciarum desolaciones, et immisisti memoriam nominis tui, fenestramque contemplacionis oculo aperuisti.²
f. 50 deuotus cucurri in canorem; sed prius incaluit cor igne amoris, et in amorosa carmina intra me erupi. Si ista non abstuleris conspectu tuo, moneret te multitudo pietatis qua

1. (k) "sponsissime." 2. Cf. p. 189n.

non pateris amantes ultra modum absumi in algoribus, et mitigares, ut estimo, miserias meas et langorem meum a facie tua non auerteres. Dolores quippe et miserie in corpore consistunt. Langor uero in anima perseuerat, donec dederis quod tanto ardore desiderauī, cuius amore emarcuit caro mea atque uiluit inter uenustos huius uite. Ex ipsiusque influencia languit anima mea ut te uideat quem optauit ardenter, et in illis sedibus secretorum celestium assisteret, quiesceretque cum societate quam concupiuit; ibique esset assumpta, ubi inter ymnidicos angelos te perfecte sine fine frueretur. Ecce enim interiora mea effebuerunt, et cauma caritatis consumpsit coagulationem cordis mei, quam odiui, et delent lugubrem leticium immundare amicitie, cogitationesque que inepte erant, et abhominabiles eciam ad inspiciendum extirpauit, et sic sine simulacione exurrexi ad amandum ordinate, qui prius dormiui in diuersis deuiis errorum meorum, obscuritatibus inuolutus, ibique delectabiliter sentiui delectacionem deuocionis suauissime, ubi me doleo magis deliquisse.

Audite, obsecro, amici mei, nemo uos seducat. Hec et huiusmodi alloquia in conspectu creatoris eructantur ex incendio amoris, et non audet aliquis alienus ab immensa dileccione talia tractare, qui adhuc temptatione cogitationum uanarum et inutilium inquietatur, qui mentem iugiter ad Christum sine contradiccione non habet intentam, aut aliquo f. 50b modo affectuose urgetur circa creaturam, ut totaliter motus cordis non transeat in Deum, quia ligatum se sentit affectui terreno. Immo excellens est in caritate, cuius cor huiusmodi amoris carmina decantauit, et absconsus in internis epulis exteriores insanias non respexit. Porro mirabiliter delectus in desideriis eternis erigit se suspiciens in celum, unde estuans dulcissima dileccione, inebriatur amenissimo haustu superni meatus, et obsitus undique, immo transformatus, ardoribus future felicitatis, ut omnes temptationes euadat in cacumen contemplatiue uite constituitur ac deinceps continuans canorem in laude Christi gloriatur.¹]

1. Newton, f. 50b, "Quere alibi, cap. xxxvi."

CAP. 36.

(De diuersis electorum donis, et quomodo sancti profecerunt ad amorem orando, meditando, diligendo, aduersa sustinendo, et uicia odiendo, et quod amor ex Deo procedit, et eius memoria amanti est necessaria; nec amans cadit temptationibus carnalibus ut aliqui imperfecti, nec leditur fomite licet duret.)

Electi autem qui amore superhabundant et ad amandum f. 90 magis quam ad aliquid aliud tota mente intendunt, mirifice manifestauerunt nobis arcanum amancium, qui superferuide et supernaturaliter acceperunt incendium amoris et inestimabili affectu erga amatum suum Ihesum inardescabant. Disponuntur namque dilecti Dei diuersis muneribus; alii ad agendum, alii ad docendum, alii ad diligendum electi sunt. Omnes tamen sancti idem cupiunt, et ad eandem uitam currunt, sed distinctis semitis¹ quia unusquisque predestinatus per illam semitam uirtutis ad regnum graditur, in qua amplius exercetur, etsi si ipsa uirtus in qua eminet suauitati diuini amoris ardentius adheret, que quidem in maxima quiete pocior estimatur. Profecto quidem ad Deum peruenit, illam perhennis glorie mansionem et sedem accipit² in premium, quam perfectissimis amatoribus Christus ordinauit habendam in eternum.

Aiebant igitur amantes qui gloriosa carmina dictabant amoris, quod qui ad amandum eminenter eligitur in primis diligenter curat et affectat, ut eius cor ab amato suo nunquam recedat, ut sit illi memoria Ihesu quasi musica in conuiuui, et in eius ore indulcoretur super mel et fauum. Sed quanto diucius se in studiis spiritualibus exercuerit, tanto suauior apparebit. Deinde mentem ab inanibus et prauis cogitationibus abstrahit, et ad desiderium Conditoris componit. Totam in Christum colligit, et in ipso fonte dileccionis figit, ac ut ipsum solum amet, et in ipso solo delectetur, incessanter orat. Iam tunc ueniunt in animam eius affectiones dulces,

1. (f) "semitibus."

2. (g) "cum ad illam Domini peruenerit perhennis glorie mansionem, et sedem acceperit in premium."

et meditationes mirabiles soli Deo fauentes. Que ruminare, et in hac mente cum intencione extense, ipsam ineffabiliter afficiunt, et cum magna delectacione et suauitate spiritus, ad contemplacionem supernorum ducunt, et ab appetitu solacii mundialis expurgant, ut amator Dei nihil querat in mundo, nisi ut possit in solitudine existere, et ibi solis Conditoris sui desideriis uacare. Postea uero fortiter et bene exerci- f. 90b
 ratus, orando ac meditando summe quieti deditus, omnem interficiens impietatem et immundiciam, arduumque iter arripiens cum discrecione, uehementer proficit in uirtute amoris eterni, ascenditque superius affectus eius, in quod oculo mentali introitus aperitur, in speculacione misteriorum celestium. Incipit quoque ardor quem antea non sentiuit animus eius adurere, et in hoc dum occupatur in utilibus, nunc intensius nunc remissius estuare prout permittit corruptibilitas corporis animam aggrauantis, et uariis molestis sepe deprimentis, ut etiam ipsa anima celica suauitate delinita, atque blanditiis supernis respirans, semetipsam multum animet in desiderio egrediendi, et etiam se tedeat manere in carne mortali. Uerumptamen libenter sustinet aduersa que contingunt, quia in gaudio eterni amoris suauiter requiescit, neque iubilacionem ipsam quam in Ihesu iocundata accepit, auferre poterunt omnia que occurrunt. Immo inefficacia auolant machinamenta diaboli, et mundialis honoris deceptiua uanitas uadit in contemptum, carnalique mollicies nec queritur nec amatur.

Ista equidem armantur contra electos Dei, ut adunata irruant inopinate ad subuersionem illorum, qui conuersacionem habent in celestibus. Sed non proficiunt at precipitentur, quia sanctus Dei amator in nomine Christi inconcussi, et quasi sine repugnancia gloriatur, dicens : *Tu autem susceptor meus es*¹ ut non inquietum me reddant maliciose impugnaciones mihi aduersantium inimicorum. *gloria mea*, quia in te glorior, non in mea uirtute, que cum non sit, nisi ex te, merito ad te tota refertur, et nihil mihi tribuitur, *et exaltans caput meum*, scilicet, ipsam superiorem

1. *Psalm.* 3, 4.

partem anime mee, qua inferiora te fauente regentur. Ad
 f. 91 iubilum et contemplacionem eleuans supernorum non
 permittis in istis inferioribus et uilibus mundi delecta-
 tionibus deici et inuolui, utique caput est: quod in oleo
 leticie spiritualis impinguasti, ut caritate incrassetur, *et sit*
mihi calix,¹ scilicet, potus interne dulcedinis, *inebrians*
 animum meum amore Conditoris, et sopitus iaceam auersus
 funditus a dileccione rerum temporalium, et sic quasi cum
 suauitate, nihil senciens terrene iocunditatis uel molescie, ad
 preclaram deducar² eternitatem.

In hac autem excellenti amoris suauitate consciencia
 candet quia puritas ibi perseuerat, et cor delectabiliter calet.
 Feruetque mens muneribus mirificata, nec aspicere
 dignatur oblectamenta iscius exilii, immo libencius amara
 mundi amplectitur,³ quam eius dulcia sequeretur; quia
 indeficientibus deliciis fruens, dileccione Ihesu tam ardenti
 desiderio adherere non cessat, quod ita cito et tam facilliter
 posses mundi ordinem euertere, sicut eius mentem ab amore
 sui Saluatoris reuocare. Odit etenim omnia que contraria
 sunt diuino amoris, et infatigabiliter ardet ea implere que
 placita Deo uidet et cognoscit. Hoc namque non dimitteret
 quacumque pena obstante uel miseria, immo eo ardencius
 uoluntatem Domini facere festinaret, quo hac causa aliquid
 duri pati preuideret. Neque uero aliud cogitat aut exoptat,
 nisi ut Christum ueraciter diligat, eiusque beneplacitum in
 omnibus et incessanter agat. Et quidem hanc ardentem in
 bonitate uoluntatem accepit ab amato suo, mens deuocione
 ditanda a Deo denique qui eam elegit ut talis esset, que⁴
 f. 91b Christi perfecta amatrix permaneret, atque efficeretur uas
 electionis quod replendum erat liquore nobilissimo dulce-
 dinis uite celestis, et nomen eius qui electus est ex uilibus
 indelibili ac perhenni memoria continuaret, ac intra se
 continue cogitando retineret. Exinde per diuinum auxilium
 abiciet omnia impedimenta amoris, in Deo quoque iugiter
 delectabitur, quia non preualebunt aduersus huiusmodi
 amatorum iacula inimici. Sed et securitatem in consciencia

1. *Psalm.* 22, 5. 2. (k) "deducat." (g) "educar."

3. (g) (h) "amplecteretur." 4. (g) "ut."

cum inestimabili claritate suauitatis interne assumet a dilecto, et singulis horis spiritu emittere anhelabit, quia in clamore intimo consistens, in ardore amoris amicabiliter ¹ cotidie expiatur, ut in ea nulla putredinis spiritualis uilitas perduret, dum et cogitatio continuata in Deo omnem iniquitatem eiecit quam malignitas suggerit hoscium, et incendium amoris realiter in mente commorans, cuncta contagia que ingenua concupiscencia contrahuntur expurgat peccatorum.

Uerumtamen in sublimitate summa positus, sic securus est effectus ut omnino caueat negligenciam, ipsamque uelut hostem pestiferum a se expellat. Solitudinem ac timorem non amittat dum hic uiuit, quia quo quis melior et Deo acceptior, eo amplius in caritate ardet, et ad instancius ac forcius operandum ea que suo statui ac uite congruunt, eciam ipsis stimulis amoris excitatur. Ac per hoc semper sollicitus est, neque a mente sua memoria dilecti suauissimi uel ad momentum elabatur, ut non solum in habitu, uerum eciam in actu, ipsum habeat et cogitet, quem toto corde diligere preceptum sibi esse non ignorat. Timetque ² uehementer ne ipsum saltem in hiis que minima sunt offendere distrahatur. Non solum quippe quod precipitur Christum tota mente diligere ad hoc implendum se extendit, et toto desiderio nititur, sed eciam magna delectacione capitur, ut dilectissimum suum nunquam obliuiscatur, nec eciam uelit ab eius dileccione separari se declinans ad temporales delectaciones, etsi possit sine pena facere quod ualeret. Expertus est enim suauiores esse blandicie spirituales corporeis amoribus, unde mirum esset si ad tanta deliramenta dilaberetur, quod spretis incorporeis carisma- f. 92
tibus, ista ficta et quasi fantastica felicitate potiri se prepararet, uel in carnali specie conglutinator hoc optaret uti, quod odit omnis sanctus Dei amator. Quosdam nimirum fefellit turpiter concupiscencia carnis, et species obtutibus obiecta, sapientes eciam et deuotos ad illicitos non nunquam attraxit amplexus, quia in caritate fundati perfecte non fuerunt, nec

1. (g) "amabilis." 2. (i) "tenetque."

eterno amori omnino adherebant. Quamobrem impulsī temptamentis, dum ascendere uidebantur, antequam ad culmen poterant peruenire, inferius corruerunt.

Sed sine dubio uerus amator eternitatis inter temptationes tenet se tranquillū, et in hac pugna coronam sibi acquirit in qua alii instabiles occiduntur. Nec desinunt dilecti Christi omnia amputare obstacula, atque corda sua coram Conditore totaliter effundunt. Ac nequaquam ut hii qui pedem in amore non fixerunt, ab ascensu intencionis deiecti marcescunt, ac potius immutabiliter preparantes ad eterna gaudia stabiliter persistunt in inceptis, nutriti et educati in dulcedine celestis saporis, ut luceant eis qui foris sunt exemplo sanctitatis, et intra semetipsos igne amoris dulciter inardescant. Errores quippe carnalium affectuum mortificant per mundicie appetitum, quamuis nullus in hac uita ingeneratam concupiscenciam ad plenum possit extinguere, aut ita perfectus esse ut ualeat in carne uiuere et non peccare. Ac per hoc nec hic perfecte sanabitur,¹ sed in illa patria ubi gloria confortat intellectum ad cernendum Deum, et pax perhennis angustias molesciasque inuadit, usquequaque et expellat, ut nulla sit corrupcionis anxietas, quandoquidem sempiterna beatitudo consummat triumph-

f. 92b antem. Interim autem euigilet mens et suspiret perseueranti amore incendii, et delectabilia uisibilis uanitatis studeat euitare. Ad hoc enim remaneat usque ad mortem: sed in morte perit fomes peccati, langorque nature, ut electus quisque ad amandum se habilitans, roboratusque superna gracia, contra ipsum fomitem continencia armatus, gloriosa exerceat certamina, et cuncta debellet que hostiliter amantes insignuntur.² Hinc sane dum pugnans uincit et non uincitur, in amenitatem eleuatur admirabilem, cui omnia interiora eius applaudunt, quia misterium³ amoris in se percipit inspirari, et in estu mellifluo superius ascendit, contemplaturque cum iubilo mellifluas laudes emanantes⁴ amanti, festinantibus ad interitum, immo ad nihilum

1. (i) "saluabitur."

2. (g) "insignuntur."

3. (g) "ministerium."

4. (f) "emanans."

carnalium motibus affectionum. Addunt ad hoc plerique asserentes quod sonat corde eius dulce quid et canorum, unde rapitur siciens et mulcetur: sed non exposuerunt, ut ego potui cognoscere, quomodo cogitacio in canticum commutatur, et melum moratur in mente, et qua iubilacione preces modulatur.

CAP. 37.

(Quod uerus amator solum amatum diligit; et de duplici raptu, extra corpus et de eleuacione mentis in Deum, et de excellencia secundi.)

Languentis spiritus ardor ex pulchritudine Dei purum¹ ostendit amorem, quia et preter suum amatum nihil requirit, et omnes alios affectus penitus extinguit. Sic enim libere² mens in id quod amat suauiter affertur, et ipsa uoluntatum amantium connexio stabiliter confirmatur, dum non occurrit quod amantem a suo proposito impedit, neque ad aliud cogitandum retroire cogit; ut amans cum summa felicitate suum assumat desiderium, et uelociter omni retardacione remota, currat in amplexus dileccionum. Inter has autem delicias quas degustat, tam dulci amore experitur arcanum celicus immissum: quod nemo adhuc nouit nisi qui accepit, atque electuarium in se gerit quod debriat diligentes f. 93 iocundos in Ihesu, et facit felices ut non cessent accelerare ad sedendum in celicis sedibus et fruantur gloria Conditoris sine fine. Ad hanc suspirant, aspectibus supernis insistentes, et inflammati medullitus omnia intima sua letantur ludifluis illustrata esse splendoribus letificatos, quia se senciunt amenissimo amore et in gaudio canticorum mirabiliter liquefactos. Unde et cogitaciones eorum mellite sunt in suo ministerio, quia eciam studendo et meditando in scripturis, ac eciam in scribendo uel dictando cogitant suum amatum, et a solito³ laudis organo non recedunt. Quod quidem mirum estimabitur cum una mens, duo simul impleatur, utique eodem tempore intenta; hoc est ut laudes et amores suas Ihesu canendo offerat, mente iubilans: et

1. (g) "primum." 2. (g) "labi." (h) "labore." 3. (g) "celico."

simul cum hoc que in libris sunt intelligat, neutrumque alterum offendant.

Sed non est hec gracia omnibus passimque concessa, sed anime sancte, sanctissime imbuta, cui lucet excellencia amoris, et hympni amorosi familiariter in ea Christo inspirante eruperunt, et quasi iam hympnidica effecta in conspectum Conditoris sui ineffabiliter personat iubilando. Que et misterium amoris agnoscens atque clamore uehementer intenso dilecto ascendens, in intellectu existit acutissima et perspicax, in sensuque subtilis, non singulis rebus mundi huius dispersa, sed in uno Deo tota collecta, et infixata, ut in puritate consciencie ac nitore mentis ipsi seruiat, quem amare et cui se exhibere deuouebat. Quo
f. 93b quidem amantis amor est purior, eo illi Deus est presencior et proprior, ac per hoc ille in Deo purius gaudet, et de Dei bonitate et suauitate benigna uberius sentit, que pure amantibus se solet infundere, et incomparabili iocunditate illabi cordibus piorum. Porro amor iste purus est quando iam illi non miscetur alterius rei affectus, nec inclinacionem habet ad aliquam delectabilem speciem fruendam corporee creature; quin immo mundata mentis acie, in uno eternitatis desiderio totus stabilitur, et cum libertate spiritus iugiter aspicit in superna, quemadmodum qui rapitur forma alicuius rei, ad quam non intendere et quam non possit amare.

Sed liquet tamen quod raptus duobus modis se offert intelligendum. Uno quidem modo quo quis extra sensum carnis ita rapitur, ut penitus tempore raptus non senciat quicquid in carne uel de carne agatur. Ipse tamen non est mortuus sed uiuus quia adhuc anime uiuificat corpus. Et hoc modo aliquando rapiuntur sancti et electi ad suam utilitatem et aliorum instruccionem, sicut Paulus qui erat raptus ad tercium celum. Et hoc modo raptus, eciam peccatores in uisione aliquando rapiuntur, ut uideant uel gaudium bonorum¹ uel penas reproborum pro sua et aliorum correccione, sicut de multis legimus.

1. (f) "beatorum."

Alio modo dicitur raptus eleuacione mentis ad Deum per contemplacionem, et hic modus est in omnibus perfectis amatoribus Dei, et in nullis nisi qui amant Deum. Et recte dicitur raptus sicut et alius, quia quadam uiolencia fit, et quasi contra naturam. Immo uere supernaturale est, ut de uili peccatore fiat filius Dei, qui spirituali gaudio repletus, feratur in Deum. Iste modus multum desiderabilis est et amandus. Nam et Christus semper habuit diuinam contemplacionem, sed nunquam corporalis regiminis subtraccionem. Aliud est amore rapi in sensu carnis, aliud a sensu ad aliquam uisionem, uel terrentem uel blandientem. Ego meliorem estimo raptum amoris, in quo homo maxime meretur. Uidere enim dare celestia ad f. 94 premium pertinet non ad meritum.

Dicuntur itaque rapti qui Saluatoris sui desideriis integre et perfecte sunt mancipati, et ad cacumen contemplacionis ualenter ascendunt. Illuminantur quoque sapiencia increata, et feruorem inconstituta¹ lucis cuius pulchritudine rapiuntur sentire meruerunt. Hec autem accidunt anime deuote, quando omnes eius cogitationes diuino amori ordinantur, omnesque mentis ipsius euagaciones transeunt in stabilitatem, et ipsa iam non fluctuat aut hesitat, sed toto affectu in unum deducta,² atque sita, magno ardore Christum anhelat, illi extenta et intenta, quasi non essent preter hos duos, scilicet, Christum et ipsam animam amantem. Unde conglutinata est ei amoris uinculo indissolubili, et per excessum mentis extra claustra corporis euolans, haurit poculum premirificum e celis; ad quod nunquam pertingeret, nisi Dei gracia ab infirmis affectionibus raperetur, in sublimitate spiritus constituta, in qua nimirum salubria recipit dona gracularum. Cum ergo solummodo diuina ac celestia, irreuerberato ac libero corde sicienter³ cogitet, mentem suam eciam supra cuncta corporalis ac uisibilis, in superna translata⁴ atque raptam uidet:⁵ prope est sine dubio, ut et feruorem dileccionis in se realiter suscipiat et senciat;

1. Short texts omit. 2. (g) "dedicata." (h) "deducata."
 3. (g) (h) (k) "sicienter." 4. (g) "transubstanciata." 5. (g) (k) "uideret."

denique in canorem melique ¹ dulcidine liquefiat. Hoc enim ex raptu isto assequetur, qui ad hoc eligitur. Quamobrem isciusmodi ² raptus magnus est et mirabilis, excellit namque ut arbitror, omnes acciones, uie, quia quedam pregustacio estimatur suauitatis eterne.³ Exceditque, ni fallor,⁴ omnia alia dona, que sanctis in hac peregrinacione ad meritum a Deo conferuntur. In hoc enim merentur superiorem locum in patria, quia per hoc Deum in uia ardencius et quiecuis amauerunt; quemadmodum summa quies ad hoc exquirendum et retinendum exposcitur, quia in nimia mocione corporis uel in constancia et uagacione mentis nequaquam uel accipitur uel tenetur.⁵ Igitur ubi electus aliquis ad illud eleuatur, in magno gaudio, plenus uirtute uiuit, in secura suauitate morietur, et post hanc uitam inter angelicos choros excellencior et Deo propior assistit.

Interim autem habet dulcorem, feruorem, et canorem, de quibus longe supra tactum est, et per que Deo seruit, et Deum diligens illi inseparabiliter adheret. Sed quia corpus quod corrumpitur aggrauat animam, et terrena habitacio deprimit sensum multa cogitantem; non eadem facilitate semper iubilat neque canore eque perspicuo iugiter et in omnibus clamat. Aliquando namque magis de feruore et dulcedine sentit et cum difficultate canit. Quandoque uero ad canendum, mira suauitate ac facilitate rapitur; cum tamen feruor remissior senciat, sepe eciam in canorem cum maxima amenitate euolat, et exit, et eciam ipsum feruorem ac dulcedinem uere sibi adesse cognoscit. Numquam tamen est feruor sine dulcore, quamuis aliquando sit sine canore, quem eciam impedit cantus corporalis, et strepitus tumultuancium redire cogit in cogitatum. In solitudine siquidem liquidius assunt, quia ibi loquitur dilectus ad cor tanquam uerecundus amator qui amicam

1. (f) "mellique." 2. (g) "huiusmodi."

3. Cf. Hugh of S. Victor *De arrha anime*—"Vere ille est dilectus tuus qui uisitat te,—uenit non ut totum infundat se, sed ut gustandum praebeat se." *Patrol. Lat.* clxxvi, 955.

4. (f) "ut arbitror."

5. (g) "et nimia mocione uel inconstancia et uagacione mentis nequaquam accipitur uel tenetur."

coram omnibus ¹ non amplectitur, nec amicabiliter eam sed communiter tantummodo uelut extraneam osculatur. Separata certe de alienis negociis deuota anima, tam corpore quam mente et solis Christi blandimentis frui desiderans, ad ipsum quoque inardescens, adest mox in melliphona iubilacione, et eam mirabiliter iocundans emanat ei melodia, cuius signum accipit, quod iam ulterius sonum exteriorum libenter non sustinebit. Et hec est musica spiritualis, que incognita monet omnibus qui seculi negociis licitis uel illicitis occupantur; nec est aliquis qui eam nouit nisi qui soli Deo uacare studuit.

CAP. 38.

(Desiderium amantis ad Deum explicatur: et amor mundi detestabilis multis exemplis declaratur; et quod memoria Dei in mundi amatoribus non moratur.)

[Insolubili uero nodo amorem tuum dulcis Ihesu in me f. 50b alligo, querens thesaurum quem exopto, et langorem iugiter inuenio, quia in te sitire non cesso: hinc, ut uentus, dolor meus euanet, nam premium meum melos est quod nullus hominum uidet, in canticum persuaue interior natura uertitur, et ego pre amore mori langueo.

Delectant lucide magnitudines munerum et cruciant cum gaudio successus amoris, dum accedunt que suscipiant ac f. 51 suscipiendo reficiant. Sed desunt que dilectum languenti ostendant, ut langueam uulnerant, et langorem nondum plene sanant, immo magis augent quia crescente amore langor augmentatur. *Sic deficit in dolore uita mea et anni mei in gemitibus* ² quia differor a dilecto, et differtur mortis desiderium et moratur medicina miserorum; et clamoribus consurgo et aio: *Heu mihi quia incolatus meus prolongatus est.* ³ Amor est quod cruciat, amor quod delectat. Cruciat: quia non cito tribuitur quod multum amatur; delectatur: quia et spe reficit, et inestimabilem consolationem in ipsis ardoribus infundit. Accrescit etenim langor

1. (k) "hominibus."

2. *Psalm.* 30, 11. 3. *Psalm.* 119, 5.

uehemens quando per amoris gadium inest anime carmen canticorum, et estus exuberans dulci dilectioni prebet incrementum; nec ita iam libet, quemadmodum mortem uitam cogitare. Flos¹ enim in quo feliciter fouetur non potest finiri, immo gloria que iugiter grandescit in amante, quod mirum apparet, mortem et melodiam simul in unum facit esse. Cum enim peruenero ad mortem incipit in me plenitudo beatitudinis mee, quam largiturus est mihi omnipotens, quem amo. Sedes mea profecto preparatur in loco ubi amor nescit refrigerescere uel ad torporem declinare. Eius equidem amor incendit cor meum, quia et illius ignem possum sentire, unde et robur anime mee angariam non cognoscit, dum sic in solacio amoris totus sum firmatus. Ego deficio pre dilectione et in sanctis suspiriis totum tempus meum expendo: et in hoc non erit opprobrium mihi coram angelis Dei, ad quorum consorcium ardentem anhele, cum quibus et consummari firma spe expecto, ac potius laus letificans
f. 51b languidum nunc relaxabit, et beatifica uisio almiphona ostendet manifeste illud quod amauit.

Sed omnino ue illis quorum defecerunt in uanitate consumpti dies eorum, et anni eorum cum festinatione perierunt, sine fructu caritatis; qui languent amore immundo, et pro pulchritudine putride carnis, que non est nisi uelamen putredinis et corrupcionis, sine dulcedine ducuntur ad mortem; super quos etiam ignis cecidit cupiditatis et iracundie, et non uiderunt solem lucis eterne. Hii abeunt in exterminium, ambulantes post uanitatem; uani facti sunt sicut ea que dilexerunt. Proinde cum iudicabuntur uidebunt Christum asperum et intolerabilem oculis, quia eum in hac uita in cordibus suis suauem non senserunt. Qui autem hic ipsum in se dulcem senciunt, ibi procul dubio et blandum uidebunt. Quales enim ei nos modo existimus: talis et ipse tunc apparebit nobis; amanti quidem amabilis et desiderabilis, non amanti uero odibilis et crudelis; nec est ista mutacio ex parte sui, sed nostri. Ipse enim idem est immutabiliter, sed omnis creatura

1. So all MSS. "Melos" seems more suitable.

taliter ipsum uidebit, qualiter uidere meruit. Obiectum namque uoluntarium ostendit se unicuique sicut uult. Unde in eodem instanti et iustis placatus, et iniustus irratus apparebit.

Amor quidem rationalis anime agit in ea, ut siue bonus siue malus sit, secundum ipsum iudicetur. Nec est aliquid ita efficax ad premerendum eternitatis gaudium quemadmodum amor Christi, nec aliquid magis inducit extremam dampnationem quam amor mundi. Inflammet igitur mentes nostros amor eternus, et seua dilectio ac odibilis carnalium affectionum longe expellatur. Suauitas celestis f. 52 uite nos inebriet, ut non libeat diligere amaram dulcedinem presentis uite, quia *fel draconum*¹ scilicet, pessima malignitas uel amaritudo dolositatis est *uinum impiorum*, quia ipsam bibentes sic inebriantur, quod quid eis futurum sit non attendunt; et *uenenum aspidum*, scilicet interficiens nequicia est eis potus mortiferus; insanabile addit, quia incorrigibilis est malicia eorum.

Habet² enim mundus mendax delicias miseriarum, diuicias uanitatum, blandimenta uulnerancia, delectamenta pestifera, felicitatem falsam, uoluptatem insanam; dilectionem amentem odibilem, tenebrosam, in inicio meridiem, in fine noctem eternam. Habet et sal insulsum, saporem insipidum, decorem deformem; amicitiam horribilem matutinum mulcens, uesperum pungens; mel amaricans, fructum necantem. Habet et rosam fetoris, gaudium lamentacionis, melodiam mesticie, preconium despeccionis, uere nectar mortis, ornatum abhominacionis, ducem seducentem, principem deprimentem. Habet et gementem gemmam, et laudem ludibrium, lilium liuorem,³ cantum clangorem, speciem putridinem, discordem concordiam, niuem ingredinem, solacium desolatorium, inopem⁴ regnum. Habet et philomenam magis uacca mugientem; merulinam⁵

1. *Deut.*, 32, 33.

2. For Rolle's love of antitheses and "conceits," see J. P. Schneider's *Prose Style of Richard Rolle*.

3. Misyn, "of lilies blakness."

"Liuor" = the substantive of "livid."

4. (k) corrects this to "inops."

5. "merulus" = blackbird.

uocem, melum nescientem; ouem uulpinam pellem induentem; et columbam, plus fera furientem.】

Fugiamus ergo corporeum immundialemque amorem, cuius dorsum habet aculeum, etsi facies blandiatur; cuius flos fellitus est, et uber uipereum, quamuis lateat, gerit; cuius sapor animam secatur a Deo, et balneum crematur igne inferorum; cuius aurum in cinerem uertitur, et thus sulphureum incendium emittet. Hic est amor carens clemencia, demencia plenus delicata; qui non sinit animam sibi obligatam sanctorum cetibus coniungi, aut diuino amore delectari.

f. 52b Istis etenim qui affectum habent inclinatum ad amorem creature mundi huius ponderosum est, et intolerabile uidetur cogitare de Deo, cum eius memoria suauissima sit, et cogitantibus mirabiliter dulcescit. Si enim de Deo cogitare ceperint, statim labitur a mente eorum, et ad suas pristinas cogitationes redeunt, in quibus diu sponte quieuerunt. Ligantur quippe sua mala consuetudine, nec tam infirmis et impuris mentibus, (sine magna et longa exercitacione spiritualium cogitacionum et abieccione corporalium ymaginacionum), sapiet cibus angelorum. Habent namque palatum cordis inquinatum, febre iniqui amoris, propter quod non possunt sentire dulcedinem glorie celestis. Quemadmodum quidem si quandoque ueniant in mentes illorum cogitationes bone, non ibi morantur; expulsis statim indiciis diuine inspiracionis per radicacionem malorum; et transeunt de malo in peius, atque eo dampnabilius corruunt, quo bono quo tanguntur non acquiescunt.

Ita electi qui succensi sunt funditus diuino amore, et Christo inseparabiliter adherent, si aliquando male uel immunde cogitationes animos illorum pulsant, et uim faciunt ut intrent: mox celo suspicientes eas abiciunt, ac feruore intencionis extinguunt; te nimirum ipsa bona consuetudine semetipsos excitant, ut in se nihil terrenum, nec aliquid uenenate dulcedinis in qua delectentur assumant. Ille enim quem perfecta caritas exurit, peccatum uel iniquum oblectamentum non sentit, immo potius in Deo suo exultat, et nec angor nec immundicia ipsum contristat.

CAP. 39.

(De multiplici amicitia bonorum et malorum, et an dissolui possit. De raritate, et de amiciciis uirorum et mulierum. De uera amicitia, et quomodo electi in ipsa delectantur in uia, et de insipientia quorundam qui nimis abstinere uel nudi sunt, et de amicitia carnali, et ornatu uirorum ac mulierum.)

[Amicitia ¹ est connexio uoluntatum, eisdem consencium et eisdem dissencium, et potest esse hec amicitia inter bonos et inter malos, sed affectibus diuersis; et maxime deberet esse inter Deum et animam que diuine uoluntati uoluntatem suam tenetur conformare in omnibus; ut que Deus uelit, uelit et ipsa; que Deus nolit, nolit et ipsa; sic quidem plena erit inter eos amicitia. In affectionibus autem humanis ubi est uera amicitia, absit ut distancia corporum separabilitatem faciat animorum, quin potius insolubile uinclum coherentis amicie desolationem releuet corporalis distance et amicus cum amico suo se quasi f. 53 existere estimet, dum indissolubilium uoluntatum constantiam uidet. Est enim uere amicitia: cum amicus se habet ad amicum sicut ad seipsum, cum amicus sit alius ipse, et ipsum amat propter ipsum, non propter utile quod se sperat ab eo percepturum.

Sed queritur, si alter amicorum erret, utrum dissoluenda sit amicitia? quidam uoluerunt non esse perfectissimam amicitiam nisi inter similes secundum uirtutem. Sed quomodo perfecta fuit que dissolui potuit errante enim uno? Iam perfecta non est, et sic paulatim possit ad nichilum deuenire, quod est contra rationem uere amicie, qua quis amatur propter seipsum, non propter utile uel delectabile. In amicis siquidem non est necesse mutari alterum propter alterius mutationem; sed amicitia cum sit uirtus, impossibile est euacuari in aliquo sine eius mutatione; ergo non f. 53b est necesse euacuari propter alterius errorem; immo si fuerit uera amicitia, magis sollicita erit reuocare errantem, etsi oporteret ut amicitia dicatur amor, quo uult et procurat

1. The chapter recalls Cicero's *De Amicitia*; cf. J. P. Schneider's *Prose Style of Richard Rolle*, p. 76.

amico suo bonum sicut sibi ipsi, et nullo errore potest rumpi dum uiuunt.

Amicie enim de facili dissoluuntur cum non inueniuntur in amico ea propter que amatur, scilicet, cum non sint amicicie utiles et delectabiles, pro quibus nunc amici diliguntur, et talis amicicia ficta est, quod durare non potest, nisi dum permanet delectabilitas et utilitas. Sed illud ratione cuius est uera amicicia, non dissoluitur in amicis dum sunt, ergo nec uera amicicia dissoluitur dum sunt, sed uno errante potest adhuc utrumque uiuere; ergo uno errante, adhuc durat amicicia si unquam fuerit uera; quia amant se inuicem secundum seipsos, scilicet, secundum quod boni sunt, quod oportet intelligi non bonitate moris sed nature. Natura enim cogit hominem sibi querere fidelem amicum; cum et ipse fidem et gratitudinem seruare intendit, nihil frustra agit, ergo ipsa amicicia que naturalis est, non dissoluetur, natura existente, nisi in iniuriam ipsius nature, natura amata repugnet; quod nullo modo natura facere potest, nisi corruptis moribus fuerit oppressa. Amicicia ergo quam incendit aliqua res que non est ipsa que amatur, deficit et extinguitur, dum ipsa res que amorem incitauit non habetur, ut si mores uel diuicie uel pulchritudo continuat amiciciam errantibus moribus, labentibus diuiciis, adnihillata pulchritudine, eciam euanescit amicicia, et de eo qui ipsam habuit
 f. 54 dicatur, nihil infelicius quam fuisse felicem.¹ Sed amicicia quam natura agit in amicis, nulla paupertate deicitur, nullo errore deletur, nulla deformitate finitur, dum natura subsistit que amicicie illius causa existit. Talis amicicia pure naturalis est, et ideo nec meritum nec demeritum, nisi contra Dei preceptum aliquid moliatur; et habet eciam secum magnam delectacionem annexam, in qua eciam nec meritum nec demeritum. Uera enim amicicia non potest esse sine mutua delectacione amicorum, et eorum colloccione desiderabili, atque consolatoris affatu, et hec amicicia si gracia Dei informata et tota in Deo fiat, et ad Deum referatur et tendat, dicitur tunc sancta amicicia, et est multum meritoria. Si autem propter hanc amiciciam

1. cf. Boethius, *De Consol. Philos.*, Bk. II, prose 4.

aliquid contra diuinam uoluntatem ab amicis agatur, est amicitia peruersa, fetida et immunda, et multum demeritoria.

Nescio autem quo infortunio iam accidit, quod uix aut raro inuenitur fidus amicus. Omnes querunt que sua sunt, nullus habet amicum de quo dicit: mihi est ille alius ego. Declinant enim ad proprias utilitates et delectaciones, et fraudem eciam in ipsis suis amicis perpetrare non erubescunt, unde patet quod uere amici non sunt sed fecte, quia non homines diligunt sed uel bonis hominum uel adulacionibus et fauoribus intendunt.

Porro etsi inter uiros et mulieres amicitia sit periculosa, quia species delectabilis fragilem animum faciliter allicit, et uisa temptacio carnalem concupiscenciam accendit, ac sepe pollucionem mentis et corporis inducit. Sicque familiaritas mulierum uiris in detrimentum uirtutis accidere solet. Non tamen est illicita illa amicitia, immo meritoria, si bono f. 54b animo agatur, et pro Deo diligitur, non pro carnis suauitate. Si enim mulieres se a uiris despectas cernerent, et de Deo conquererentur, qui eas tales creasset de quibus uiri dedignerentur, et de salute forsitan desperarent, desolatas enim se estimant, si a uiris consilium uel auxilium non assumant. Minus quippe uiget in eis ratio, unde et faciliter seducuntur et cito uincuntur. Propter quod multum indigent consilio bonorum. A malis uero male tractantur, quia multo sunt prouiores ad delectacionem uoluptatis quam ad claritatem sanctitudinis.

Est et quedam naturalis dileccio uiri ad mulierem, et mulieris ad uirum, qua nullus caret nec eciam sanctus, secundum naturam a Deo primo institutam, per quam simul existentes et inuicem concordantes, naturali instinctu socialiter letantur. Que quidem dileccio eciam suas habet delectaciones ut in mutuis colloquiis et tactibus honestis, grataque cohabitatione, per quam tamen homo non meretur nisi caritate fuerit informata, nec eciam demeretur nisi fuerit culpa denigrata. Si enim mali motus surgant ex quibus cogitent de libidine et ad ipsam tendant, since dubio rei

sunt mortis quia contra Deum peccant. Errant ergo turpiter qui dicunt quod omnia facta nostra, siue interiora siue exteriora, sunt meritoria uel demeritoria; quia auferre nituntur, uel saltem in nobis non esse contendunt delectationes et acciones naturales, et sic confusionem nobili nature inducere non uerentur. Illa uero amicitia uel familiaritas uirorum ac mulierum illicita est et prohibita, qua uoluptatibus carnalium affectuum implendis, in uili concupiscencia
 f. 55 conueniunt, et eterna postponentes temporalibus solaciis, corporeisque amoribus florere querunt. Ipsi eciam grauiter delinquent, et maxime qui sacrum ordinem acceperunt, qui accedunt ad mulierculas uelut peccatores, dicentes se languere pro amore illarum et pene tabescere immenso desiderio, cogitationumque conflictu, et sic eas leues et instabiles ad miseriam presentis uite et future perducunt. Sed et ipsi non permanebunt impuniti, portant enim secum dampnationem suam de quibus per psalmistam dicitur: *Sepulchrum patens est guttur eorum, linguis suis dolose agebant; iudica illos Deus.*¹ Uult namque Deus mulieres a uiris nec prorsus despici, neque per uana blandicia seduci; sed in omni sanctitate et sanctimonia ad salutem anime et corporis fideliter et caritatiue erudiri; sed nunc raro inuenitur, qui sic faciat, quin potius, (quod dolendum est,) uel pro muneribus uel pro specialitate earum adquirenda student eas informare. Unde sepe contingit quod si in uno instruant, in alio destruant et confundant, et ea quibus placet mulieribus uti, ne offendantur, uel non uolent uel non audent prohibere, quamuis mala sunt.

Est autem uera amicitia, amancium consolidacio, mencium consolacio, angustie releuacio, tristicie secularis expulsio, reformatio peccatorum, augmentacio sanctitatis, diminucio sceleris, multiplicacio bonorum meritorum, dum amicus ab amico uicissim et a malo per salubre consilium trahitur, et
 f. 55b ad bonum agendum inflammatur, dum in amico gratiam intuetur quam ipse in se habere concupiscit. Non ergo spernenda est sancta amicitia, que omni miserie medicinam

1. *Psalm* 5, 11.

habet. A Deo enim est ut inter calamitates huius exilii amicorum refoveamur consiliis et auxiliis, donec ad ipsum perueniamus, ubi omnes erimus docibiles Dei, et in eternis sedibus beate collocati, in ipso quem dileximus et in quo et pro quo amicos habemus, sine fine gloriemur. Ab hac amicitia neminem excipere possum quantumcumque sanctum, qui ea indigeat, nisi forte aliquis talis sit cui non homines sed angeli ministrarent. Sunt autem nonnulli qui diuino amore iubilant, et eius dulcedine ita inebriantur quod dicere possint: *Renuit consolari anima mea terrena*,¹ scilicet consolacione qua amatores mundi se inuicem consolantur. Oportet tamen ut secundum naturam et secundum gratiam in hiis que corpori suo sunt necessaria et in hominibus delectentur. Quis enim comedit uel dormit, uel recreacionem a calore uel frigore accipit sine delectacione? Quis habet amicum, et in eius presencia alloquio et cohabitatione et participacione boni non delectatur? Certe nullus, nisi insensatus et ratione carens, quia in hiis et in aliis huiusmodi consolatur uita humana, eciam que sanctissima est et uberius in Deo gaudet.

Non ergo de talibus intelligendum est illud: *Renuit consolari anima mea*, sed de fetidis et immundis atque illicitis consolacionibus mundanorum. Postea enim dixit. *Delectasti enim me Domine in factura tua, et in operibus manuum tuarum exultabo*.² Quis negat illum consolacionem accipere qui in operibus Dei se fatetur exultare? *Sed uir insipiens non cognoscet et stultus non intelliget hec*.³ Habent uero quidam zelum Dei sed non secundum scienciam, qui dum superflua student abicere, eciam de f. 56 necessariis ducuntur incaute resecare, estimantes Deo placere non posse nisi se per nimiam abstinenciam et nuditatem immoderate affligant. Et quamquam pallor faciei sit decor solitarii, non est tamen eorum seruicium recte ordinatum, quia etsi corpora sua castigare iubentur, et in seruitutem spiritus redigere: ea tamen tenetur non occidere,

1. *Psalm.* 76, 3. 2. *Psalm.* 91, 5.

3. *Psalm.* 91, 7.

sed ad honorem Dei seruare donec ipse animam a corpore separet qui illa coniunxit. Tales ergo et hominibus sunt asperi et in seipsis amari, amicitie quoque custodiam non cognoscunt quia nec eius uiam tenuerunt. Amor equidem consanguineorum si immoderatus est, carnalis dicitur affectus et rumpendus est, quia ab amore Dei impedit; si autem moderatus sit naturalis dicitur, et non perturbat a seruicio diuino, quia natura in quantum huiusmodi non agit contra factorem nature.

Postremo merito reprehendibiles sunt nostri temporis mulieres que novos ornatus, tam capiti quam corpori, in tanta et tam mirabili uanitate inuenerunt, et inuentos induxerunt, quod et aspicientibus horrorem ingerant et stuporem. Non solum enim contra sententiam apostoli in auro et in torcione crinium,¹ pompe ac lasciuie seruantes incedunt, sed eciam contra honestatem humanam et naturam diuinitus institutam, cornua sibi lata et magnitudine horrenda, de capillis in se non radicatis composita, suo capiti imponunt; quarum quedam suam turpitudinem uel
f. 56b uelare uel pulchritudinem augere studentes, fuco adulterine fallacie facies suas colorant, et dealbant. Uestimentis eciam nouo modo sculptis et uiri et femine uanissime abutuntur, non considerantes quid nature deceat, sed quid rumoris noua uanitas diabolo suggerente introducat. Siquis autem uel rarissimus de talibus corripere uelit, irridetur, et magis ponderant inanem fabulam quam emendacionem. Uadant ergo et cadant, capiantur et illaqueentur. Iste domine et mulieres que uocantur ingenue, uelint decorari ad tempus et deformari ineternum, quia post peractam gloriam infernalem sencient penam, que non Christum in hac uita sed uilissimam mundi uanitatem amauerunt, coronantes se rosis priusquam marcescerent,—sed nunc ad alia transeamus.】

1. cf. I *Tm.* 2, 9.

CAP. 40.

(Quod in omni tempore et in omni actu amor Dei miscendus est, qui nec prosperis cedit nec aduersis, et de excellencia eius et comparacione, et de lacrimis in melum conuersis.)

Diuinitatis amor hominem quem perfecte penetrat, et igne Sancti Spiritus ueraciter inflamat, mira iocunditate illius animum ad se rapit, et ab amoris tanti memoria nec ad momentum euagare permittit. Ligat mentem amantis ut ad uana non defluat et in amatum iugiter tendat. [Possumus¹ nempe si ueri amatores sumus Domini nostri Ihesu Christi, et ipsum cogitare dum pergimus et cantum amoris eius tenere dum in consorcio sedemus, et ad mensam eius memoriam habere poterimus eciam in ipsis gustibus cibi et potus. Ad omnem autem morsellum esce uel haustum poculi, deberemus laudare Deum, et inter ipsa cibariorum susceptionum et morsellorum interualla, illi laudes personare cum suauitate mellita et mentali clamore ac desiderio, ad ipsum inter epulas anhelare. Et si in labore manuum fuerimus, quid prohibet nos cor celestibus erigere, et eterni amoris cogitationem incessabiliter retinere? Sicque omni tempore uite nostre feruentes erimus non torpentes, nec aliquid f. 57 preter sompnum cor nostrum ab eo remouebit.

O quantum gaudium et leticia illabitur amanti! O quam felix et uere desiderabilis dulcedo animam eius replet! Est enim amor uita sine fine permanens, ubi in Christo figitur et solidatur, quando iam ipsum amorem secundum amorosum affectum in celestibus radicatam nec prospera nec aduersa ualebunt immutare, quemadmodum sapientissimi conscripserunt. Tunc nimirum noctem uertit in diem, tenebras in lucem, molesciam in melodiam, punicionem in amenitatem, laboremque in suauissimam requiem. Hec enim dileccio non ymaginaria est aut simulata, sed uera et perfecta, ad Christum inseparabiliter intenta, melos resonans

1. The compiler of the short text had at this stage become careless as to the nature of the passages he (or she) omitted.

amato cum armonia. Et siquidem si isto modo, ut ostendi, amaueris, cum optimis et honorabilibus in regno Dei ipsi uisioni uiuifice assistes gloriosus. Omnes autem interim impugnaciones demonum, insurgentes motus carnalium, concupiscenciarumque mundanarum rerum, in ardore amoris et uirtute oracionis, ualenter superabis. Uinces quoque delectacionem apparentis pulchritudinis, ut nolles pro omni quod estimari poterit uel semel maculari. Cum hoc quippe habundans eris internis epulis, et delicias eterni amoris experieris, ut signum cognosces in certitudine et quasi in sciencia, quod amator es eterni regis. Hoc tamen non accidit alieno nisi uel hoc Deus ei dederit, uel in hac uita magnam partem futuri premii in se ueraciter senserit immorari.

f. 57b Sed quid de illis loquor cum aliis qui quamuis electi sunt, non tamen electuarium illud habuerunt? Admiror aliquando de meipso quod locutus sum de excellencia amatorum Dei, quasi quicumque uellet, ad hanc ualeret ascendere; cum non sit uolentis neque currentis, sed Christi diligentis eleuantis et assummentis. Paruitas profecto ingenii mei nescit aperire illud quod utcumque quasi balbuciens ostendere conatus sum, et aliquid tamen de ineffabili dicere compellebar, ut audientes uel legentes studeant imitari, inuenientes quod omnis amor pulcherrime et amabilissime rei mundane comparatus diuino amori, dolor et miseria est. Quamobrem aspiciate ad intelligentiam, et scitote quantum Dominus mirificat amatorem suum, et sustollit in sublime, nec deici permittit indigno amore uane spei, sed in se suauissime ad amandum stabiliter custodit. Est enim amor continua cogitacio cum ingenti desiderio pulchri bonique amabilis, quia si res quam amo pulchra sit et non bona, indigne me amare demonstro; si autem bona sit, amanda est.

Amor autem creature, etsi bona sit et pulchra, mihi prohibitus est, ut fonti bonitatis et pulchritudinis totum amorem meum offeram et reseruem; ut ille sit amor meus qui est Deus meus et Ihesus meus. Ipse enim solus habet

ex se pulchritudinem et bonitatem, immo ipsa pulchritudo et bonitas est. Alia quecumque non nisi ab ipso pulchra et bona sunt, et quanto ei magis appropinquant, tanto sunt pulchriora et meliora. Decentissime igitur ipse amatur, qui omnia in se continet que querende sunt ab amante, unde ex parte eius nihil retrahit quin ardentissime possit amari. Si enim aliud amauero, mordet me consciencia mea quod non recte amo, timeo ne id quod amo non ita me reamet, et si de hoc non timerem, tamen adhuc concucior pro morte que male amantes separat, et cunctam uanitatem f. 58 suam deuastat. Insuper sepe occurrunt alia aduersancia que serenitatem suauitatemque amantium conturbant; sed qui Deum ueraciter et toto corde deligit, tanto in consciencia purior existit, quanto in diuino amore ardenciolem se cognouit. Unde et amantissimum amatum suum experitur, a cuius dulcedine mors non segregat, immo tunc perfecte dilectum inuenit, quando ab hoc mundo transit, eique ueracissime coniugitur, ut ab eo deinceps nunquam elongetur, sed in amplexus amenissimos currat assidue, et ipsum quem amauit, quem concupiuit, manifeste uidens gloriatur sine fine. Hunc itaque amorem igni inextinguibili assimilo, quem nulla uis aduerse potestatis deicit, nullius blandimenti mollicies deuincit. Hic amor purgat nos a peccatis nostris, et in immenso ardore omnia exurit obstacula que impedirent ad amandum, atque in flammis feruidissimis diuine dilectionis clariores nos reddit auro, soleque lucidiores. Amor iste medicinam nobis afferet spiritualem, nec aliquid estimo esse inter omnia que enumerari possunt a clericis, quod nos ita sustentat et serenat, ac ab omni fece iniquitatis expiat, quemadmodum feruens dileccio deitatis et continua meditacio Conditoris.

Lacrime lauare solent a delictis, et dolor cordis delet dampnationem; sed ardens amor omnia excedit inexcogitabiliter et excellentissime resplendentem facit animam, unde et pro omnibus que operari possumus, cor eterni regis acquirit et in canoro gaudio meretur contemplari.】

Non¹ aio fletum esse inutilem, nec dolorem cordis dico indecentem, aut non diligendum in hoc exilio; sed admiror aliquem in tantum raptum amoris iubilo, quod in deuocione sua uel orando uel meditando flere non possit, immo uerius annunciem et dicam oracionem, meditacionemque tanti amatoris in canticum conuersam, atque in melos suauitatis celice liquescentem, ut potius angelicum sonum personat quam humanum, in quo cum feruore mellifluo delinitus: non ad lugendum, sed ad iubilandum assumitur; ut quasi abstractis lacrimis, in ipso fonte ueri et eterni gaudii f. 58b iugiter iocundetur. Cumque doctores nostri asserant perfectos debere lacrimari, et quo perfecciores sunt, eo in fletibus sunt uberiores, tam pro miseriis uie quam pro dilatione patrie. Mihi quidem langor mirabilis in diuino amore affluit; et compunccio fletuum corporalium pro interne suauitatis magnitudine cessauit. Qui autem eterna dileccione non exurit, necesse est quod lacrimis purgetur; sed qui amore eternitatis languet, sufficit ei amor ad torquendum; non enim est uulnus grauius nec suauius quam amoris. Quippe etsi talis niteretur lacrimari non permittitur, maxime in secreta deuocione, eo quod tunc subleuante Spiritu Sancto, mens sursum erigitur, et cum dulcedine suauitatis angelice, laudes et amorosas cogitationes suas Deo modulatur. [Sedes siquidem amoris in altum quoniam usque in celescia cucurrit, et mihi uidetur quod eciam in terra subtilis et artificiosus est, qui homines olim amabiles, fuscis facit et pallidos, quos marcescere cogit ut uirescant, deficere, ut fortes sint. Unde et ad quietem eterne glorie propius accedit, et intrepide se immiscet canentibus Conditori. Quia quo quis ardentius amat, eo suauius cantat, et sentit dulcius quod forcius desiderauit; nam etsi non amantibus uia aspera et longa uideatur, amor attamen Deum et hominem copulat et breui labore facit sustinentes.²]

1. The composer of the short text seems to have copied this passage because Rolle's views on the value of mirth and laughter would strike a mediæval religious as unusual.

2. Newton adds in margin: "Require altera duo capitula alibi."

CAP. 41.

(Quod amor perfectus unit Deo et inseparabilem reddit et memorabilem Dei facit; sed amor mundi in nihilum cadit. Et de natura ueri amoris stabili et perpetua, suaue, leui et utili, et de falso amore, uenenoso, turpi et putrido.)

Actus iste perfectus est, scilicet, si mentes nostras ab f. 96 amore creature medullitus separemus,¹ et soli Deo illas uere et inseparabiliter coniungamus; et quanto in hoc opere fuerimus perfecciores, tanto sumus meliores. Iste actus super omnes alios est, quia ad hunc finem omnia que agimus referenda sunt, ut Deo nostro perfecte uniamur;² sed ab isto unione multa retrahunt, scilicet, species delectabilis mundi, uanitas uiuorum et mulierum, diuicie et honores, laus et fauor populorum. Ideo ad hunc actum implendum nos exerceamus, cunctis postpositis et oblitis que possent impedire. Amor enim ad quem ascendemus in hoc opere feruencior est carbone ignito, et effectum suum omnino in nobis producet, quia ardentes et splendentes faciet animos nostros. Hic est amor qui non potest decipi a creatura, et ab eterna mercede non potest fraudari in celo. Huius autem amoris flammam quis diu sustinere posset, si semper eodem modo perduraret, sed temperatur sepe ne consumat naturam per corpus quod corrumpitur et aggrauat animam, quia ipsa caro corruptibilis non patitur ut mens in Deum iugiter feratur. Interpolatur enim feruor actualis deuocionis per sompnum et immoderatam corporis exercitationem uel laborem, non tamen ardor extinguitur sed ut prius non sentitur. Redit enim ad nos cum nos redimus ad Deum, et facit nos conualescere ab infirmitate mentis, et suauitatem tribuit; eciam corpus a multis generibus morborum eripit dum nos in sobrietate et temperancia custodit. Eleuet quoque animos nostros ad celestia desideria, ut non f. 96b inferioribus terre delectemur. Hic est amor qui Christum rapit in corda nostra, et mellifluas facit mentes nostras, ut

1. (g) "seperemus." (j) uncorrected, "superemus." 2. (g) "uiuamus."

et in melum ex internis hymnidicis¹ erumpamus et quasi pneumatizando iubilemus. Nec estimo aliquam uoluptatem huic similem quoniam sincera suauitate inebriat, et dulcedine sancta delectat. Depurgatur enim anima quam assumit sacris incendiis, nec remanet in ea quicquam rubiginosum aut obscurum, sed totum amenitate almi-phona est penetratum, ut interior natura in diuinam gloriam et amoris canticum uideatur conuersa. Sic quidem iocundat amor eternus, et delectabilem infundat copiam,² ut non cogantur amici eius aliquem affectum creature mundi huius inclinare, quominus libere in laudem et amorem Christi Ihesu liquescant. Disce igitur amare Auctorem tuum, si uiuere cupis cum hinc transieris. Hoc age ut diligas Deum in uita tua, si uiuere uis post mortem tuam; mentem tribue illi qui eam ab eternis et temporalibus doloribus potest custodire. Unde neque cor tuum ab ipso separetur, quamquam in aduersitate et miseria positus fueris, quoniam sic eum cum gaudio ualebis possidere et ipsum sine fine diligere. In hoc enim uerum amatorem te ostendis, si memoriam Dei a te uagare non sinas, siue prospera eueniant siue occurrant aduersa.

O bone Ihesu qui mihi uitam tribuisti etiam in tuum amorem, deduc me ad ipsum suspirantem, totam intentionem meam cape tibi, ut tu sis totum desiderium meum, nec ultra te aliquid affectet cor meum! Dolor et duricia abscederent a me, ueniret quoque quod concupisco, si anima mea audisset accepissetque canticum laudis tue. Amor tuus in nobis semper et indefesse maneat, ex quo possumus eum sentire propter quod cogitatum meum in potestatem tuam fac stabilem, ut nusquam uanis et inutilibus fantasmatibus euanescat, nec aliquando erroribus illudatur, sed neque inclinetur ad terrenam felicitatem, uel amandam uel
f. 97 laudandam; quatinus mens mea ex te defecata ita in tuo amore ardeat, ut nullo euentu subito uel preuiso refrigescat. Si enim amauero aliquam creaturam mundi huius, que mee uoluntati per omnia placeret, et posuero gaudium meum et

1. (f) (k) "himpnidici." (h) "impnidicum." 2. (f) "copiosam."

finem solacii mei ac desiderii, quando ad me ipsa eueniret, timere potero de separacione ardente et amara, quoniam omnis felicitas quam habeo in huiusmodi amore, in fine non est nisi fletus et anxietas quando iam prope est, quod pena amarissime animam cruciabit.

Omne itaque oblectamentum quod homines in hoc exilio aspexerunt feno comparatur, quod nunc floret et uirescit, sed protinus euanuit quasi non fuerit. Sic nimirum gaudium huius mundi recte considerantibus apparet, et succedentibus sibi solaciis captiuorum nunquam in eodem statu permanet, sed semper transit donec in nichilum redigatur. In labore tamen et erumpna omnes consistunt, nec ea quisquam poterit euitare. Amoris autem fidelis et non ficti natura hec est, ut persistat in stabilitate perpetua, et quocumque successore nouo non mutetur, unde¹ et uita que dileccionem inuenire potuerit, eamque in mente ueraciter cognouerit, a dolore conuertitur in ineffabile gaudium, et conuersatur in misterium melodie. Melum enim amabit, et iubilando in Ihesu assimilabitur auicule canenti usque ad mortem, sed et forsitan in morte solacio non carebit cantici caritatis, si enim contingat mori, et non potius uiuens transire ad amatum suum. Post transitum denique mirabiliter eleuabitur in laudem Conditoris, et inestimabiliter affluet deliciis canendo, et in clamorem seraphicum cito assurget, ut laudando luceat et seruiat iugiter sine fine. Ibi aderunt amplexus amoris et suauitas amancium, copulabitur in corde, coniunctio carorum constabit in eternum. Mellifluum os oscula exhibebit delicata, et amor utriusque nunquam cessabit.

Mihi namque immensam leticiam ac securitatem generat f. 97b presenciam amati mei, nec ullius molescie cum ipso reminiscor. Cuncta² aduersancia euanescunt, omnes alie affectiones et concupiscencie non comparent, immo sedantur et dispareunt, et ipse solus me reficit et inuoluit, quem solum mea mens ardentem concupiuit. Tu autem Christum

1. (g) "unde et qui istam dileccionem inuenire poterit."

2. (f) "aduersa."

dilexeris tota uoluntate tua, et odio habueris omnem sordem iniquitatis, et dederis cor tuum ipsi qui illud redemit, ut ille sit possessor tuus per gratiam, non diabolus per culpam. Quemadmodum anima tua Christum quesiiuit uere et intrepide, et inquirendo noluit cessare donec inueniret, ita ad eternam gloriam perduceris et assistes Deo tuo in sede beata. Igitur amare consulo sicut exposui, cum angelis accipe locum tuum. Hanc gloriam et honorem uide ne uendas pro uili uanitate carnis uoluptatis. Prospice diligenter ne amor creature ab amore Creatoris te excludat. In terra quidem non odias miseriam, nisi que posset tuum purum amorem deicere et conturbare, quoniam *fortis est ut mors perfecta dileccio, dura sicut infernus uera emulacio*.¹ Amor enim est leuis sarcina, portantem non onerans, sed alleuians; que iuuenes cum senibus letificat, in qua exultant uictores demonum capta preda, in qua proteguntur pugnantes contra carnem et mundum. Amor est uinum spirituale inebrians mentes electorum, et faciens prouectos et uiriles, ut uenenosam mundi delectacionem obliuiscantur, et nec cogitare curent, immo de hac uehementer dedignentur; unde et de sancto amore nullus amans amittere potest sed oportet multum lucrari. Si enim in corde fideliter tenuerit, amor absque pena permanet in animo amantis quemadmodum amatores enunciauerunt, quia amor proficit, pena destruit, proficiens uero et destruens omnino contrariantur. Ergo cor perfecte amans non sentit penam nec molesciam, non est triste nec turbulentum. Sic siquidem non compaciscuntur² perfectus amor et deiectus meror. Iterum etiam quod fit libenter non fit penaliter. Amans autem uoluntarie et libenter operatur, ergo non habet miseriam in opere suo, sed felix est, in nullo coactus, in nullo gemebundus, sed semper se letum et hilarem ostendens. Amor igitur res dulcissima est et utilissima quam unquam accepit creatura rationalis. Est enim Deo amor acceptissimus et dilectissimus, qui ligat non solum nexibus sapientie et suauitatis

1. *Cant.* 8, 6. 2. (g) (h) "compaciuntur."

Deoque coniungit, sed etiam carnem et sanguinem constringit, ne defluat homo in dulcedinem deceptiuam et in diuersas errorum concupiscencias deuiaret. In hoc amore conualescat cor, roboretur et consistat uita nostra, meliorem nimirum mansionem et suauiore nunquam inueni, quoniam me et amabilem meum amor unit, et unum ex duobus facit.

[Uerumtamen carnalis dileccio prosperabitur et peribit quemadmodum flos agri in estate, et non erit amplius exultans et existens quam si non nisi per diem unum perduraret, sic certe subsistit per modicum, sed deinceps in dolorem declinabit, et sic sine dubio amaricabitur in inanibus amatoribus. Superbia eorum, et ludus in falsa pulchritudine, in putredinem et turpitudinem detrudetur, quoniam iam precipitati sunt in tormentum, quod cum eis erit in eternum. Non transibit, sicut sua falsa felicitas et gaudium quod habuerunt, in splendore sue speciei frustra transierunt, et uelociter euanuit omne in quo delectabantur. Deus autem dat pulchritudinem uiris et feminis, non ut inuicem inardescant contempnendo creatorem suum, sicut iam pene omnibus accidit, sed ut beneficia Domini Dei sui recognoscentes, ipsum toto corde glorificent et incessanter ament; atque ad ipsam perhennem pulchritudinem, cui omnis mundialis species et gloria comparata nichil est, iugiter suspirent. Si enim amabilis forma apparet in seruis mundi, que erit pulchritudo in filiis Dei in celo constitutis? Proinde amemus ardentem, quia si in almiphona amenitate amauerimus, Christo canemus cum melodia, cuius amor omnia uincit, et nos ergo in amore uiuamus et in quo etiam moriamur.]

CAP. 42.

(De dulcedine et felicitate amoris Dei, et de cantico philomene, et oratio pro perseuerancia cantici spiritualis et realis, quem amatores mundi non habent.)

Dulciorem uoluptatem non cognosco, quam in corde meo canere tibi, Ihesu, quem diligo, canticum laudis tue.

Meliorē felicitatē ignoro et habundantiorem, quam sentire in mente mea suauem amoris feruorem. Omnium¹ optimum estimo esse Ihesum in corde figere, et aliud nequaquam desiderare. Ipse enim habet amandi bonum initium, qui lacrimas habet amatorias, cum dulci languore et desiderio eternorum. Ipse uero Christus quasi nostro amore languet, dum tanto ardore ut nos adquireret ad crucem festinauit: sed uerum dicitur quia amor preit in tripudio, et coream ducit. Quod Christum ita demissum posuit, nihil nisi amor fuit.

Ueni Saluator meus animam meam consolari! stabilem me fac in dilectione, ut amare nunquam desistam! dolorem dele cum transire debeo, quoniam non est talis peccator qui gaudere non poterit si ad te perfecte conuertatur. Reminiscere misericordie tue, dulcissime Ihesu, ut lucens sit uita mea uirtute repleta, ut uincam inimicum meum fortem tribue salutem! Hoc modo te deprecor, ut non sim perditus cum filio perdicionis. Ex quo enim sancto amore mens mea incensa est, positus sum in langore uidenti maiestatem tuam, paupertatis proinde portitor effectus, despicio dignitatem terre, nec curo de ullo honore. Gloria enim mea amicitia est. Quando amare inceperam, amor tuus cor meum suscepit, et nihil me concupiscere permisit, preter amorem; deinde tu Deus de dulci lumine animam
f. 98b meam inardescere fecisti, ex quo per te et in te mori potero, et tristitiam non sentire.

Ardor itaque delectabilis est in corde amante, qui tristem molesciam deuorauit in igne feruentis amoris. Dehinc datus est dulcor precipue musica mediante et animum demulcente, quoniam ibi tu Deus meus et consolator meus preparasti templum tuum. Ualde quidem deliciosa est gloria ad quam suspiro, nec cupidior poterit homo subsistere, in tali desiderio. Unde et amorosa anima mea in regem imperii, se uelut sponsam, ornans, sic eloquitur. "Amor retinet cor meum nexibus suis insolubilibus," et in tali ponit mancipatione atque conatu tanto complectitur

1. (g) "Conuiuuium." (h) "Dominum." (j) uncorrected, "communium."

cum mirifico magisterio, quod mori amplius quam uiuere placet cogitare. Flos namque non potest finire, ita est amicus amore ardens, et gaudium eius mortem concinnat et melodiam.

In principio enim conuersionis mee, et propositi singularis, cogitaui me uelle assimilari auicule, que pre amore languet amati sui, sed languendo eciam letatur adueniente sibi quod amat et letando canit, canendo eciam languet, sed in dulcedine et ardore. Fertur enim philomena tota nocte cantui et melo indulgere, ut ei placeat, cui copulatur. Quanto magis cum suauitate maxima canerem Christo meo Ihesu,¹ qui est sponsus anime mee per totam uitam presentem que nox est respectu future claritatis, ut langueam, et languendo deficiam pre amore. Sed deficiendo conualescam et nutriar in ardore, iubilemque ac iubilando canam delicias amoris cum amenitate, et tanquam ex fistula perflet canora ac feruens deuocio, et emittat odas altissimo interius incensas. Sed eciam ex ore oblatas in arra diuine laudis, quatinus semper subsistat anima auida ad diligendum, et numquam tristitia uel torpore deficiat a desiderio quod accepit. Integritas nempe intencionis, promptitudo uoluntatis, feruor desiderii actualis, et conuersio in Deum, per continuacionem cogitacionis, que in sanctis animabus sunt, non sinunt eas peccare mortaliter. Uel si per fragilitatem aut ignoranciam peccauerint, statim illis stimulis excitantur ad ueram penitenciam, nec diu in peccatis morabuntur, eciam si delectabilibus adheserunt.² Uenialia f. 99 uero que committunt penitus consumuntur in igne amoris, nisi forte aliqui tali negligencia deprimantur, quod omnino peccatum non putant in quo delinquant, et caritas non sufficit ad delendam omnem penam debitam, uel saltem tribulacio non infertur, qua culpa penitus expurgetur. In accensu³ autem amoris cor uritur amantis. Igne feruencior est estus mirabilis, qui et mentem suauissime letificat, et ab ardore uiciorum refrigerat et obumbrat.⁴

1. (g) "debeo."

2. (h) "adhererunt."
obumbrat,"

3. (h) (k) "accessu."

4. (g) "refrigerans

Ihesu bone, redde mihi organum celicum canticum angelorum, ut in hoc rapiar laudes tuas iugiter modulari; quod dedisti nescienti et non cognoscenti nunc experto et petenti retribue! Blandire mihi in iocunditate amoris uranici, ut ignicoma inueniar in extremis: et cum canoro gaudio, in animam meam descende! Ostende mihi blandimenta suaui in beneplacito tuo, ut excessus mei hic puniantur et purgentur, eo modo, quo in misericordia nouisti ergo adherentem tibi, non quemadmodum blandiris in ira tua florentibus huic seculo, quibus prospera temporaliter largiris, et eterna tormenta reseruas! Mundi quippe amatores scire possunt uerba uel carmina nostrarum cancionum, non autem cantica nostrorum carminum; quia uerba legunt, sed notam et tonum ac suauitatem odarum addiscere non possunt. O bone Ihesu ligasti cor meum in cogitatione nominis tui, et illud iam non canere non ualeo! ideo miserere mei perficiendo quod preparasti! Rapiatur uerus amator tuus sollicitus in iubilum canori cogitatus, ut impossibile sit talem dulcedinem esse a diabolo, talem feruorem ab aliquo creato, talem canorem ab ingenio humano; in quibus si perseuerauero saluus ero.¹

【Oportet autem quod nec minima peccata uelit committere qui uult maxima perfecte enitare. Qui enim scienter et sponte cadit in minima, incautus sepe corruiet in maiora. Pertinet quidem ad amorem, magnam miseriam cicius uelle incurrere, quam uel semel peccare. Nequaquam enim necesse est illi immo ridiculum esset, hic querere delicias ac diuicias, fortitudinem et pulchritudinem, qui in iudicio eterni regis sempiternus miles constituetur, cum perfecta decencia membrorum et uenustate coloris, ubi non erit superfluum nec diminutum; et ministrabit in aula celesti summo imperatori, in secula seculorum. Amen.】²

1. The short text ends here: the original scribe of (*j*) has written "Explicit incendium amoris." Newton added the concluding paragraph, as it is given in all the other long texts. The paragraph is almost certainly Rolle's own work, and not a gloss. Besides the MS. evidence, these concluding paragraphs of the long and short texts seem to be one of Rolle's frequent repetitions: cf. the succession of the phrases "saluus ero" and "in aula celeste summo imperatori" on p. 192.

2. Newton added: "Hic correctus per librum quem sanctus Ricardus de H. propria manu scripsit." See Introduction, p. 63.

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